

The Nation

JOHNSON CITY TN
THE SHERROD LIBRARY
PERIODICALS LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE
ST. LOUIS, MO 63103
OCT 1982

October 2, 1982 \$1.25; U.K. 65p

EDITORIAL

ISRAEL AND THE VATICAN

When Pope John Paul II received Yasir Arafat two weeks ago, the government of Israel was outraged. So much so that official spokesmen reacted by mentioning the Vatican's most noisome and sensitive memory—the complicity of the Papacy in the Holocaust.

We go this far with the Israeli government: on any question that touches Jewry, the Vatican should be extremely modest and cautious. It has, after all, centuries of bigotry and slander against the Jews to live down.

Yet notice what seems to have gone unremarked. The Pope was one of the few Catholic priests in Poland who risked himself to save Jewish lives—while the Gemayel clan, now Israel's principal ally in Lebanon, names and models its Phalangist Party after the Catholic Fascist movement of the 1930s. If Israel believes Catholics are untrustworthy, why does it denounce the reformed ones and join with the unreconstructed?

That would have been a pertinent question even before the horrible massacres at the Shatila and Sabra refugee camps. The official Israeli denials of direct complicity are several, and not very consistent. But nobody denies that the mass murder was perpetrated by Christian forces that Israel had helped to power. Some measure of responsibility is therefore inescapable, and Begin and Sharon might best confront that, recognizing that the logic of such a course could well end with their joint resignation.

We hope that one result of this hideous episode will be that the press ceases to refer to the Gemayels as the leaders of the "Christians" in Lebanon. There are many large Christian groups—Armenian, Greek, even Maronite Catholic—that abominate such leaders. The perpetrators should be called by their right names—Phalangists. Fascists.

TEXAS TEXTS

John Henry
Faulk

MEXICO: MAN BITES DOG

Cedric
Belfrage

THE FLAWS IN REAGAN'S 'DENSE PACK'

Andrew Gould
Robert Sacks

THE HERPES SCARE

Amy Wilentz

THE LIFE OF JOE MCCARTHY

Maurice
Isserman

THE CASE OF CHASE

BANKERS AND THEIR CODES OF CONDUCT

BERTHA STAR

Over the past few months, the international financial system has been more troubled than at any time since the 1930s. Among the factors contributing to this instability have been unsound lending practices and poor judgment on the part of bankers at some of the largest U.S. financial institutions. Because banking practices are so difficult to monitor, banks have been free to operate largely according to their own codes of conduct.

A recent *New York Times* article on Citibank provides an insight into the manner in which banks exercise this freedom. Documents obtained by the Securities and Exchange Commission showed that from 1973 to 1980, Citibank repeatedly made transactions through offshore branches in order to make its balance sheets and liquidity appear much healthier than they actually were, thus enabling the bank to bypass important regulations guaranteeing the safety of deposits.

A lawsuit involving Chase Manhattan Bank has also cast light on the effectiveness of these codes of conduct. The suit, charging wrongful discharge, was brought by John Marcilla, a former employee of Chase. At the heart of the case is Marcilla's claim that Banco del Comercio (Bandelco) in Bogotá, Colombia, in which Chase has a minority interest, followed lending practices that are illegal in this country. On June 4, a New York Federal District Court judge dismissed the suit.

As it happened, the quashing of the suit came during what had been a very unpleasant spring and summer for Chase. The collapse in mid-May

(Continued on Page 302)

EXCHANGE.

The Francis-Donner Letters (II)

South Norwalk, Conn.

Let's begin at the beginning. I did not crash the keynote speaker's rostrum at the Boston symposium as Samuel T. Francis charges [see Exchange, *The Nation*, September 25]. Long before the symposium convened, I was invited to deliver a keynote address (in addition to serving as a panelist), and I did so. There was a mix-up at the session's opening which was quickly straightened out and for which the host apologized both at the meeting and in a subsequent letter to me, accompanied by a tape of Francis's address which I had requested. I was not "led away" to the accompaniment of snickering but was applauded and subsequently urged to have my prepared remarks published.

Francis invites the reader to believe that he gained mastery of the domestic intelligence field during his service with the Heritage Foundation, but it would appear his expertise derives primarily from the self-serving statements of intelligence hawks, swallowed whole. How did a bumbling, inexperienced, incompetent and incoherent idiot like me dare criticize his views? His characterizations tell us more about Francis than about Donner. For about thirty-five years I have worked as both a lawyer and a writer in the field of domestic political intelligence. I have litigated civil liberties and surveillance issues in an assortment of forums from the U.N. Administrative Tribunal to the United States Supreme Court to which I have presented eight cases. I have written some two dozen articles and book reviews on my specialty for *The Nation*, *Civil Liberties Review*, *Harper's*, *The New York Review of Books* and other publications; appeared as a guest lecturer at colleges and universities, including Stanford, Harvard, Princeton and Yale; participated in a great many conferences, symposiums, seminars and debates at the invitation of universities, state bar associations, the Chief Justice Earl Warren Conference and a variety of other sponsors. Papers I delivered at these gatherings have been published in books, law reviews and reports. I have also given expert testimony in two important trials involving surveillance issues. My first book, *The Un-Americans*, was assigned reading in several college courses, while the recently published *The Age of Surveillance* was an alternate selection of the History Book Club and is also on the required reading lists of a number of college courses. In the 1970s my files, which I have long shared with other lawyers, were consulted by Congressional investigating committees. Over the years, I have received four national awards for my work in the field of surveillance and related areas.

It is quite true that I did not question Francis at the symposium: his talk struck me

as another Schreck-peddler's offering by an ultrarightist, an exercise that became increasingly familiar during the Reagan Presidential campaign and thereafter, and described in some detail in the new introduction to the paperback edition of *The Age of Surveillance*. But on reflection, I came to realize that Francis's remarks had strong ideological overtones. I was particularly struck by his reference to popular approval as a justification for expanded surveillance and his reliance on a virtually untrammelled executive power to surmount constitutional barriers.

After I read an essay by him in *The New Right Papers*, the ideological roots of his Boston remarks became quite apparent. In that essay he espouses a kind of plebiscitary Caesarism. He blueprints an alliance of two ascending classes, the capitalist "Sunbelt interests" and a demotic constituency of "Middle American Radicals" (MARs), joined together to implement a "Caesarist strategy" based on the use of an all-powerful Presidency to replace the "entrenched elite" and its main supporters—"Congress, the courts, the bureaucracy, the media . . . the managerial hierarchies of the mass unions and corporations, the universities and foundations, the urban conglomerates." All of these institutional centers, Francis goes on to explain, are:

the power preserves of the entrenched elite whose values and interests are hostile to the traditional American ethos and which is a parasitical tumor on the body of Middle America. These structures should be leveled or at least radically reformed, and only the Presidency has the power and the resources to begin the process and to mobilize popular support for it.

These pronouncements have—as Philip Green has noted in these pages [see "Apple-Pie Authoritarians," July 3] and as Peter Steinfels, author of *The Neoconservatives*, has noted in *The New Republic*—a distinctly fascist resonance. They convinced me that I should analyze Francis's Boston speech for *Nation* readers.

A transcript of his remarks was then made from the tape and proofread; from this I prepared my analysis. Additional research was done by *The Nation*'s fact-checking department. Having reread the self-serving entries in the *Congressional Record* referred to by Francis, I remain unconvinced that I have misinterpreted his internal security contribution to the Heritage report. The inferences I have drawn from an accurately quoted text are also, as he indicates, shared by others. Indeed, his essay ought to be made more widely available so the public may learn what a horror it really is, especially its pillaging of constitutional liberties in the name of a bogus threat to national security.

A preliminary observation is in order about objectivity. Francis paints me as a subversive zealot, incapable of weighing the evidence objectively, as though his Heritage Foundation ties raise no questions about his own objectivity. Indeed, Francis is such a hawk that in October 1981, after coming to work as a legislative aide to Senator John East, he engaged in a bit of moonlighting and wrote a fourteen-page memorandum "at the request of the Heritage Foundation" that was subsequently published and disseminated as a Heritage "Issue Bulletin" in support of a harsh version of the Intelligence Identities Protection Act. The memorandum took pains to attack the objectivity of the bill's critics, whose backgrounds, as he put it, were such as to make it "difficult to take their reservations seriously." (What can you expect of people who defend the rights of the likes of Philip Agee?)

Francis's commitment to Presidential Caesarism in the intelligence field is reflected in his reliance on Article II, Section 3, and Article IV, Section 4, of the Constitution as a source of authority for his intelligence program. This theory ignores the consensus among intelligence experts that these provisions are too vague to serve as a source of authority for domestic countersubversive intelligence measures by the executive branch. The justification was first advanced in 1971, before a Senate committee headed by Senator Sam Ervin, by William Rehnquist, then Assistant Attorney General and legal adviser to President Nixon and now a Supreme Court Justice. But Rehnquist was coldly received and predictably so: how could a constitutional requirement that the President "take care that the laws be faithfully executed" and another guaranteeing to every state "a republican form of government" be fairly construed to authorize domestic political intelligence programs against non-violent targets? As the Church Committee Report notes (Book VI, p. 3), "As these are very vague and general provisions, reliance upon them alone, as authority for intelligence activity would require dependence upon a President's view of his office." In short, these provisions would sanction intelligence Caesarism. Indeed, the weakness of Francis's defense led to the Nixon Administration's adoption of an alternative: the inherent power thesis, a casualty of Watergate.

Francis chooses to ignore the 1976 report of the General Accounting Office—hardly a nest of radicals—submitted to the chairman of the House Judiciary Committee after a fifteen-month investigation, which concluded: "The FBI's authority to carry out domestic intelligence investigations is unclear. Legislation is needed." In a follow-up report in 1977, the G.A.O. repeated its earlier conclusion and again insisted that

(Continued on Page 304)

CONTENTS.

Volume 235, Number 10

EXCHANGE

- 290 The Francis-Donner Letters (II)

EDITORIALS

- 289 Israel and the Vatican
 291 End of an Epoch
 292 Texas Texts *John Henry Faulk*
 293 Man Bites Dog *Cedric Belfrage*
 294 *Minority Report* *Christopher Hitchens*

ARTICLES

- 289 The Case of Chase:
 Bankers and Their Codes of Conduct *Bertha Star*
 295 Why the Inconsistencies?: Behind
 Reagan's "Dense-Pack" Plan *Andrew Gould and*
Robert Sacks
 296 New Mexico's P.N.M.:
 A Public Utility "Out
 Of Control" *Jan Knippers Black*

- 298 As Time Gloats By:
 Fanning the Herpes Scare *Amy Wilentz*
 300 A New "Business Unionism":
 The Dangers of Worker Control *Lance Compa*

BOOKS & THE ARTS

- 308 Reeves: The Life and Times of
 Joe McCarthy *Maurice Isserman*
 310 Russell: Rape in Marriage
 Beneke: Men on Rape *Brett Harvey*
 312 Walser: Selected Stories *Sven Birkerts*
 314 De Beauvoir: When Things
 Of the Spirit Come First:
 Five Early Tales *Carol Ascher*
 314 Once, Driving West of Billings,
 Montana, (poem) *Susan Mitchell*
 316 Theater *Richard Gilman*
 Drawings by Frances Jetter

Editor, Victor Navasky

Executive Editor, Kirkpatrick Sale; Associate Editor, Kai Bird; Assistant Editor, Eric Etheridge; Literary Editor, Katha Pollitt; Assistant Literary Editor, Elena Brunet; Poetry Editor, Grace Schulman; Copy Editor, Janet Gold; Assistant Copy Editors, Judith Long, JoAnn Wypijewski; Editorial Secretary, Ola Lyon; Interns, Valerie Brown, Eric Friedman, Jon Gacioch, Michele Galen, Susan Milligan, Christopher Policano, Elise Urrutia. On leave, Barbara Dudley Davis, Richard Lingeman, Robert Sherrill.

Departments: Architecture, Jane Holtz Kay; Films, Robert Hatch; Music, David Hamilton; Correspondents: Washington, D.C., Christopher Hitchens; Latin America, Penny Lernoux; Europe, Daniel Singer; London, Raymond Williams; Paris, Claude Bourdet; Columnists and Regular Contributors: Calvin Trillin (*Uncivil Liberties*), Thomas Ferguson & Joel Rogers (*The Political Economy*), Elizabeth Farnsworth & Stephen Talbot (*Dispatches*). Contributing Editors: Blair Clark, Herman Schwartz, Gore Vidal. Editorial Board: James Baldwin, Norman Birnbaum, Richard Falk, Frances Fitzgerald, Philip Green, Elinor Langer, Robert Lekachman, Sidney Morgenbesser, Aryeh Neier, Elizabeth Pochoda, Marcus G. Raskin, A.W. Singham, Roger Wilkins, Alan Wolfe.

The Nation is available on microfilm from: University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Rd., Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

Publisher, Hamilton Fish 3rd

Associate Publisher, David Parker; Advertising Manager, Carole Kraemer; Business Manager, Ann B. Epstein; Bookkeeper, Gertrude Silverston; Art/Production Manager, Jane Sharples; Subscription Manager, Stephen W. Soule; Customer Service, Jonathan Sylbert; Classified, Virginia Cannon; Director of Development and Publicity, Laurie Lipper; Receptionist, Greta Loell; Mail Clerk, John Holtz; Administrative Secretary, Shirley Sulat; Nation Associates, Claudine Bacher; Nation News Service, Jeff Sorensen.

The Nation (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the first week in January, and biweekly in July and August) by Nation Enterprises and © 1982 in the U.S.A. by the Nation Associates, Inc., 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011. Tel.: 212-242-8400. Subscription Mail Address: Nation Subscription Service, P.O. Box 1953, Marion, Ohio 43305. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and at additional mailing offices. International Telex: 667 155 NATION.

Regular Subscription Price: One year, \$35; two years, \$65; six months, \$17.50. Add \$1 per year postage Canada, Mexico; \$13 per year other foreign. All foreign subscriptions must be paid in equivalent U.S. funds. Claims for missed issues must be made within 60 days of publication date; back issues available \$3 prepaid (\$4 foreign). Please allow 6-8 weeks for receipt of your first issue and for all subscription transactions. Subscription orders, changes of address and all subscription inquiries should be sent to: The Nation, Subscription Services, P.O. Box 1953, Marion, Ohio 43305.

EDITORIALS.

End of an Epoch

The imminent end of Helmut Schmidt's chancellorship is the end of an epoch. The coalition of the Social Democrats and the Free Democrats, led first by Willy Brandt and then by Schmidt, accomplished much. It extended the welfare state, presided over a pervasive democratization of German society and contributed to a reduction of superpower tension in central Europe.

Yet its strengths were also its weaknesses. The social contract between capital and labor worked only in prosperity. The development of a new political culture polarized the nation, inducing millions to support the right. A wall between the two Germanys is now unthinkable, but a wall between the two is not.

What will follow in the short term is unclear. The Free Democrats, badly split, may provide enough parliamentary votes to the Christian Democratic and Christian Social parties to form a new conservative coalition. In that case, the new Chancellor would be Helmut Kohl, who is convincingly mediocre. (Franz-Josef Strauss once said, with Kohl in mind, that he did not care who was Chancellor under him.) In the event the coalition is put together, which is increasingly unclear, we are unlikely to see the dismantling of the welfare state. We may see a confrontation between the conservatives and the opponents of nuclear power and nuclear arms, but the new coalition will be as unable and unwilling as the old to install Euromissiles in Germany.

We will certainly see the Social Democrats in opposition for a long period. They will have to rethink the welfare state, and they will have to devise a way to deal with the Green.

JOHN TENNESSEE STATE UNIVERSITY
 JOHNSON CITY, TENNESSEE

OCT 4 - 1982

movement, which has usurped many Social Democratic themes and a quarter of its voters.

And we may now see a genuine competition between left and right over who can best represent the national interest—if necessary, outside the Atlantic alliance.

Texas Texts

Austin, Texas

If you are interested in the quality of public education in any state in the union, you would do well to acquaint yourself with how they go about selecting textbooks for use in public schools in Texas. The state is the second biggest market for textbooks in the country, its purchases amounting to \$51.1 million last year. Textbook publishers give Texas their respectful attention. The standards set there can affect the kind of textbooks that are used in the entire country.

Any textbook used in Texas must "promote citizenship and the understanding of the free enterprise system, emphasize patriotism and respect for recognized authority," according to a decree of the State Board of Education. That board appoints fifteen citizens, all associated with public education, to serve each year on its State Textbook Committee. It is the function of this body to collect the titles of all texts that are being offered by publishers, announce which ones are being considered for use in Texas and hold public hearings each August for those who want to come in and voice their complaints. Only complaints though. The Texas Board of Education has decreed that only negative testimony will be heard. Its rules forbid any testimony in behalf of a textbook or in defense of its content, except by the publishers themselves.

After the Textbook Committee has listened to all the critics, it studies the reams of criticism and then in September votes on which texts will be recommended to the Board of Education.

I went down to the hearings this year. An assortment of critics were on hand—some sent by the D.A.R., one sent by the National Organization for Women and a sprinkling sent by God. However, the real heavies, the big stars of the textbook-censorship scene in Texas, Mel and Norma Gabler, were not sent by anybody. They came, as they have for the past twenty years, on their own.

Mel and Norma Gabler got into the textbook-censoring game twenty-one years ago in Longview, Texas. He was an employee of Exxon (he is now retired), and she was and is a housewife. Neither of the Gablers pretended any expertise in the various fields with which the texts dealt. Subjects like history, civics, homemaking and health did not even interest them. What they had discovered was that the public schools were sweeping the schoolchildren of Texas down the sewer of secular humanism, loose morals and patriotic indifference. They concluded that the chief cause of this calamity was the liberal-polluted textbook. They set about searching every Texas textbook for material that offended their fundamentalist religious beliefs or their right-wing political

views. They came to the textbook hearings and made their presence felt. They institutionalized textbook censorship in Texas.

What started out as a kitchen-table operation two decades ago has now grown into a \$120,000-a-year non-profit organization called Educational Research Analysts, which employs a number of full-time aides and enjoys nationwide influence in textbook-censoring circles.

Mel and Norma Gabler have celebrity status in the right-wing world. Luminaries like Jerry Falwell, Phyllis Schlafly and Richard Viguerie have endorsed their good works.

Publishers do not like to talk about it, but it is an accepted fact that some have tailored their texts to suit the Gablers. As Viguerie commented recently, "Because Texas is such a big market for textbook publishers, Mrs. Gabler has forced several textbook companies to rewrite their texts for the entire country."

This year Norma Gabler showed up as usual at the hearings in Austin with two aides and some 600 pages of detailed objections to proposed textbooks. For years now, she has been the principal performer at these annual affairs, accustomed to only token opposition. This time, however, she came up against three representatives from Norman Lear's People for the American Way (P.F.A.W.), a group that has been taking on the library censors and the book banners since November 1980 and has now zeroed in on Texas.

The three P.F.A.W. representatives were not allowed to testify in behalf of any of the proposed textbooks because of the rule that only negative critics can be heard. However, they had other cards to play. They had assembled a prodigious amount of information on the activities and methods of the textbook censors. They called a press conference outside the hearing chambers, attracting an amazing number of reporters, and stories on textbook censorship appeared from one end of Texas to the other. It was the first time many Texans had heard about the censors.

The Texas coordinator for P.F.A.W. is Michael Hudson, an energetic young man, a lawyer and a native Texan. Hudson followed the hearings closely and kept the press releases flowing. He used the state's Open Records Act to secure copies of all the objections that were filed and sent P.F.A.W.'s responses to the State Board of Education.

Norma Gabler was quite testy about the P.F.A.W. intrusion at the hearings. She blasted Norman Lear and his million-dollar operation for criticizing her and Jerry Falwell and other patriots. She was particularly outraged that "these liberal elements," who have controlled the minds of our schoolchildren for years, are now screaming censorship when patriotic citizens seek to save the children.

I have heard more expressions of strong disapproval of the Gablers and textbook censorship in Texas these last five weeks than I heard in the last five years. For the first time in years, a robust dialogue is in progress around the state on this crucial matter. It portends well for the schoolchildren of the whole country.

JOHN HENRY FAULK

John Henry Faulk is a Texas humorist and the author of Fear on Trial (Tempo Books), the story of his blacklisting.

Man Bites Dog

Cuernavaca

Every Mexican president, as leader of the eternally ruling P.R.I. Party, in whose name the revolution is "institutionalized," is expected to talk like a revolutionary. But not since Lázaro Cárdenas nationalized the country's oil in 1938 has any president acted like one—until José López Portillo, in his farewell address a month ago, proclaimed the nationalization of the banks and total control of currency exchange, a thorough "Mexicanization of the economy."

The announcement was certainly startling, evoking monster headlines in the press and talk of "a new Mexico," of the government again "choosing to govern," of the start of "another historic battle." Shock waves from it are still being felt across the land and far outside it, as the lame-duck administration proceeds to revamp the entire banking system, which is now under the control of a new, distinguished and non-Friedmanite set of managers.

However much hot air Mexicans have been fed about their revolutionary heritage, they still take it very seriously, and by that criterion López Portillo's foreign policy performance in a period of tightening American pressure needed no apology. He had indeed, as he said, done much to change Mexico from a spectator to an actor on the world stage, "supporting the noblest struggles of the developing peoples" while at the same time striving for good relations with the United States as a "cornerstone of policy" without which that solidarity would be fruitless. The balance, he could justly say, has been "positive": "Mexico has diverged, converged and above all negotiated with the U.S. on a basis of dignity, respect and friendship." It sounded good, and it seemed to be as good as circumstances permitted.

But his report on the economy soon brought him to the question of Mexico's astronomical foreign debt and the problem of finding dollars to service it and pay for necessary imports: the problem, in short, of Mexico keeping its head above water. Dollar speculation by the country's wealthy and banking circles was driving the peso down toward disappearance as a serviceable currency; as one commentator said, Mexico was "about to blow up" when the President made his farewell appearance. Every Mexican, including the many who never had a bank account and would not know a dollar if they saw one, knew that a "dollar crisis" had brought their economy to the brink of disaster. López Portillo had been pathetically pleading with the dollar-drainers to act like patriots; predictably without effect. Would he now try to sidestep what all Mexico knew: that the banks and their wealthy customers, without faith in their country, had been turning their loot into dollars and putting it into foreign banks and real estate; that with shameless arrogance they had been importing through customs the luxury fruits of jet-plane shopping expeditions across the border? Or if he faced it honestly, what would he propose doing about it?

The only possible remedy was a drastic one, and the President amazed everyone by providing it. He estimated Mexican bank accounts abroad at \$14 billion or more, and U.S. real estate bought by Mexicans, much of it in still-unpaid installments, at another \$25 billion. Seeing no future for the Mexican economy and thus insuring that it would have none, "a group of Mexicans headed, advised and supported by the private banks," had looted the country of "more wealth than the imperialisms which exploited us from the beginning of our history." And what needed correcting was the system that made it possible.

The President "had a little list" of the dollar-drainers but did not divulge it. Many of them were already well known, and some of them, including leaders of his own party, were in the audience. As he made his sensational announcement to representatives of every class and group, TV cameras swept over the audience, picking out guilty and "Who, me?" faces. Miguel de la Madrid, already elected as the country's next President, joined carefully in the standing ovation; however he felt about his predecessor's initiative, it was irreversible.

Only businessmen and bankers remained in their seats. The traditional post-speech press conference at which their spokesmen would have praised the President was canceled. Instead, they made the expected charges of "socialistic" and "totalitarian" tendencies—against a move that was as socialistic as Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal. The system was in fact being revised in order to save it. Curiously, this seemed to be recognized by U.S. and other foreign bankers, who abstained from Red-baiting López Portillo despite the frank jubilation of Mexican leftists and the congratulations from Cuba and Nicaragua. They are more concerned about the money that Mexico owes them and apparently see López Portillo's move as providing their best chance of getting it.

Whatever the label, the people like it. The P.R.I. machine brought the usual multitude into Mexico City's Zocalo the next day for the standard *Gracias, Señor Presidente* demonstration, but it had a rare note of spontaneity. One interesting feature of the President's announcement is that the bank employees' independent and progressive trade union, which had been banned and clandestine, is allowed to move into the open and may play an important role in Mexico's hamstrung labor movement.

López Portillo has put new heart into the much-deceived Mexican people. Above all, a huge load of "revolutionary" hypocrisy has been partially lifted from their backs. Now they are bracing for the inevitable backlash from the still formidable "traitors," as the President called them in a departure from his script. Hopes are high and widespread for a Mexico closer to the image of its revolutionaries, a more attractive country for both citizens and visitors.

CEDRIC BELFRAGE

Cedric Belfrage is the former editor of the National Guardian and co-author with James Aronson of Something to Guard: The Stormy Life of the National Guardian 1948-1967 (Columbia University Press).

MINORITY REPORT.

CHRISTOPHER HITCHENS

Everybody remembers the case Sherlock Holmes cracked because of a dog that did *not* bark in the night. The case of Raymond Donovan, still Secretary of Labor, puts me in mind of that old tale. To read about him is to have the sensation of treading on the place in the dark where the top stair ought to be. There's a strong feeling of something missing, of something that ought to be there and isn't. There's also a pungent sense of something that ought *not* to be there, and is.

The best way I can express this is to say that if Donovan were now nominated as Secretary of Labor, he wouldn't make it. When he passed his Senate confirmation hearings, several crucial things had *not* happened.

(1) Frederick Furino had *not* been murdered. Furino, a friend of the deceased mobster Salvatore Briguglio, was given a lie detector test this April. The test was designed to prove or disprove his claim that Donovan and Briguglio were complete strangers. Furino flunked. A few weeks later, he was found shot dead and crammed into the trunk of a car.

(2) Nathan Masselli had *not* been murdered. He was the son of William Masselli, a former subcontractor of Donovan's Schiavone Construction Company. Masselli Sr., a convicted Mafia criminal, had been moved to a Manhattan jail for the convenience of special prosecutor Leon Silverman, who was then pursuing his second inquiry. It seems, from Silverman's second report, that William Masselli was eventually *not* questioned. His son, however, was shot dead in the Bronx on August 28, immediately after paying a visit to his incarcerated father. James Shalleck, head of the homicide bureau in the Bronx D.A.'s office, refused in court to deny a link between the murder, which he called an execution, and the Donovan investigation.

(3) The serious suggestion that Donovan was involved with the teamsters' union election fund had *not* surfaced.

(4) The F.B.I. had *not* revealed all it knew about Donovan and his contacts. To quote the "Supplemental Report of the Committee on Labor and Human Resources," issued months after that committee had found him above reproach:

During Mr. Silverman's investigation it was determined that certain information was contained in the files of the F.B.I.'s Newark field office which did not appear to have been furnished to the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources or the Special Prosecutor.

The paragraph's smarmy euphemisms join "insufficient credible evidence" as part of the weasel talk that dominates the official handling of the case.

Donovan, who laughably claims to be the only victim of the inquiry, is in fact the beneficiary of a Catch-22. The witnesses are not "credible" because they are criminals, or because they need protection, or because they are informants in other cases. That is why 66 of the 111 pages of Silverman's second report are deleted. But if the witnesses were "credible," they would not be caught up with the Sicilian business community. And it is precisely Donovan's contacts with the S.B.C. that are the issue.

Donovan is also the beneficiary of a further anomaly. The F.B.I. gave as the reason for the deletions, and the reason for its general coyness about releasing evidence, the excuse that disclosure could jeopardize "the source of the conversation and the ongoing F.B.I. investigation." That is a catchall and coverall, rather like "national security." It did not prevent the F.B.I. from eventually revealing some of the material it had inexplicably held back. But it does prevent us from finding out quite how often Donovan's name comes up in S.B.C. circles. So, for the Secretary to rave about charges from "nameless accusers" is hubris. Would he really rather that the names were made public?

Finally, Donovan is the beneficiary of a most unusual special prosecutor. If I am ever on trial and have anything to fear, I shall hope to be prosecuted by Leon Silverman. In him, the milk of human kindness runs free and uncongealed. Donovan told the Senate that neither he nor his company had ever done business with Philip Moscato, a man apparently well known in S.B.C. gatherings. Silverman's subsequent investigation established that Schiavone Construction had done some thousands of dollars' worth of business with Moscato. This discrepancy was attributed to a lapse of memory. Silverman did, however, astonish some onlookers by saying after the Masselli murder that if a third investigation is needed, he is "willing to accept such an appointment." As the man said, it's steady work.

Now comes the question: why does the President endure this? If it is because of his famous loyalty to his friends, as his defenders in Washington suggest, then why did he fire Richard Allen for mislaying a few grand? Allen, though in every way a creep, was actually acquitted in an investigation, which is more than Donovan can claim. But he got the boot. Donovan is even less qualified for his job than Allen was for his. He is a laughingstock in his department. His only political achievement has been to raise money for the President's election chest by holding Sinatra concerts at his improbably named Fiddler's Elbow country club. As Senator Donald Riegle put it during the confirmation hearings, "If this nominee were a person of towering reputation and stature in this field over a number of years, I would give that considerable weight. That is not the case here." Senator Riegle was worried about S.B.C. penetration in high places. So should we all be. The teamsters' union, after all, got one of its men on the Reagan transition team even as he was actually being sued by the Department of Labor. It has in the past seated its nominees in government. Donovan might perhaps now survive a trial, but the F.B.I. would be unlikely to tell the court, as it told the Senate in January 1981, that he is "a loyal American whose character, reputation and associates are beyond approach [*sic*]."

The misprint in the record is endearing. Indeed, some of Donovan's associates are unapproachable in the worst way. But Silverman was mandated only to see if the evidence would warrant prosecution. He could not recommend whether Donovan should or should not remain in the Cabinet. On that, the verdict is already in.

ARTICLES.

■ WHY THE INCONSISTENCIES?

Behind Reagan's 'Dense-Pack' Plan

ANDREW GOULD AND ROBERT SACKS

One of the most disturbing features of President Reagan's strategic arms control proposal has received almost no attention in the press, perhaps because it seems to be a minor technical detail. In fact, it is a crucial component of the new "dense-pack" scheme for basing MX missiles.

The U.S. negotiating position for the START talks, announced in the President's speech at Eureka College last May, represents a break with the precedent set by the SALT I and SALT II treaties because it calls for direct limits on the number of ballistic missiles each superpower may have. The SALT treaties did not directly limit missiles; they established limits on the number of missile launchers (e.g., silos for land-based missiles and tubes on submarines for undersea missiles).

The change from a treaty that limits the number of launchers to one that regulates the number of missiles is subtle but significant. The key is verification. Because they are large and located outdoors, launchers can be photographed by spy satellites. Missiles, however, are small, portable and easily hidden, and cannot be photographed by satellites. The only way to verify compliance with Reagan's proposed limit on missiles would be through on-site inspection.

On-site inspection is a rallying cry of the anti-Soviet hard-liners in the Reagan camp. The Soviet Union has consistently refused to allow inspection teams on its soil to verify limits on strategic arms. This refusal was one reason the SALT treaties limited launchers instead of missiles. Indeed, critics of SALT II claim that because it does not establish rights to on-site inspection, it is not verifiable. The Administration's views on the matter were expressed clearly on June 12, when Edward Rowny, Reagan's chief START negotiator, told the Associated Press that one of the country's main demands when the talks opened in Geneva less than three weeks later would be for on-site inspection. Thus the reason for the Administration's switch to the limit on the number of missiles may be that it gives U.S. negotiators more reason to insist that on-site inspection be included in a new treaty.

But if the Administration's only motive for proposing the limit on missiles was to strengthen its arguments for on-site inspection, the strategy would be puzzling. Compliance with such a limit would be *less* verifiable than compliance with a SALT-type limit on launchers even if the Russians permit-

ted on-site inspection: missiles are simply too easy to hide, and the Administration knows it. The Nuclear Right is correct in claiming that compliance with SALT II's limit on launchers could be verified with greater certainty by adding on-site inspection to satellite surveillance. But it does not follow that a limit on missiles is more verifiable than a limit on launchers, just because the latter requires both means. The Administration knows this too.

Thus the crusade for on-site inspection is complemented by Reagan's Eureka College proposal, but it is not sufficient by itself to explain it. There is a second, more important reason for the proposal: the dense-pack scheme.

One of the features under consideration for the dense-pack plan is deceptive basing. Deceptive basing means the use of empty decoy silos. The idea is that the United States should have more targets than the Soviet Union has warheads to use against them. If the Russians don't have enough warheads to target all the silos, they will be unable to launch a pre-emptive first strike.

Reagan's proposal to limit missiles instead of launchers follows naturally from the logic of the plan to use decoy silos. Under SALT limits on launchers, all dense-pack silos would be counted whether they contained missiles or not, and the number would be limited by treaty. Under Reagan's proposed limit on missiles, the Pentagon would be free to build as many silos as Congress would pay for.

One might think that the Pentagon would prefer no treaty limits at all on either silos or missiles. However, the deceptive-basing strategy will work as the Pentagon intends only if the Russians are restrained by treaty from deploying more than a certain number of missiles and warheads. Without a treaty limit, they could simply build enough missiles and warheads to target all the dense-pack silos the United States has. Thus the dense-pack strategy will work only if there is an arms treaty that insures that the number of American targets will exceed the number of Soviet warheads needed to attack them in a first strike.

It all fits together: deceptive basing to protect MX missiles, a limit on missiles to permit deceptive basing, and on-site inspection to verify compliance with the limit on missiles. There is one problem, however. Deceptive basing is incompatible with on-site inspection. In order to verify U.S. compliance with a treaty limit on missiles, Soviet on-site inspectors would have to look into each silo. Obviously, the Soviet inspectors would discover which silos were empty and which were loaded. Once the empty silos were identified, they would no longer function as decoys.

How do we explain this inconsistency in the Administration's strategic arms policy? A likely answer is that the Administration does not really intend to pursue dense pack. It proposed the scheme because the Senate Armed Services Committee insisted that it draw up a new plan for basing the MX missiles as a condition for approving funds to build nine of the weapons in fiscal 1983. Why build the missiles without building a base for them? An unnamed Administration spokesman may have answered that question when he

Andrew Gould and Robert Sacks are freelance writers in New York City with a special interest in disarmament issues.

told *The New York Times* on May 19 that the United States must "get started on MX so we will have something to give up" in negotiations with the Russians. If the spokesman was telling the whole truth, Reagan's Eureka College proposal may have been a ploy to make the dense-pack scheme more credible and give the MX more weight as a bargaining chip in the START talks.

There is another explanation—the simplest and most ominous—for the Administration's self-contradictory program. Reagan may want the START talks to founder on Soviet objections to on-site inspection. The President has said that arms-treaty proposals must be "simple" if they are to win public support because most people lack the patience to understand the technicalities of arms control. The problems of verification created by his Eureka College proposal are precisely the kind of technicalities that Reagan can count on the public to misunderstand. Reagan may hope that the public, misled by a lazy and compliant press, will interpret the almost inevitable Soviet objection to on-site inspection as proof that the Russians intend to violate any treaty they sign. This would do more to halt the nuclear freeze movement in the United States than anything this President is willing to do or say himself. □

■ NEW MEXICO'S P.N.M.

A Public Utility 'Out of Control'

JAN KNIPPERS BLACK

In recent years, consumers throughout the United States, led to believe that the country is in the midst of an "energy crisis," have paid soaring utility bills with remarkable docility. Questions about the fairness of rates for essential services and the quality of government regulation of utility monopolies have rarely been raised unless the behavior of a particular utility became outrageous. The Public Service Company of New Mexico (P.N.M.) made the mistake of crossing that line, and it became a highly visible target of consumers and politicians. Even Republican Senator Harrison Schmitt, hardly a critic of business or a defender of consumer interests, has called P.N.M. "an electric utility running out of control." Former New Mexico Attorney General Toney Anaya, now the Democratic candidate for governor, has suggested "statization" of the utility. These were only some of the opening shots in the Great Utility War of 1982.

Energy-rich New Mexico, which is among the poorest states in the union (it ranks forty-second in median family income), has one of the country's most profitable electric

companies. P.N.M.'s net earnings have risen between 30 percent and 50 percent each year since 1978. Net earnings for 1981 were up 51.1 percent.

Not unrelated to all this is the fact that New Mexico's electricity rates are among the highest in the nation. Those rates have more than doubled in the last eight years. An average residential bill increase of 16 percent between January 1981 and January 1982 severely strained family budgets and public patience. In mid-1981, the governor's office received four or five letters a month complaining about the utility. By the year's end it was receiving four or five a day. But the real furor was unleashed when ratepayers began to suspect what they were being asked to pay for.

On February 1, the state's Public Service Commission (P.S.C.), awakening from what the Santa Fe *New Mexican* called a "deep slumber," rejected P.N.M.'s bid to pass through to ratepayers a \$200,000 share of the cleanup costs at Pennsylvania's Three Mile Island nuclear power plant. P.N.M. was under no legal obligation to share the cleanup costs; its effort to collect from New Mexico ratepayers was a matter of "corporate courtesy" to General Public Utilities, T.M.I.'s parent corporation. The P.S.C. also removed from the rate base, and refunded to customers, a portion of P.N.M.'s costs from an abandoned geothermal project.

These attempts at pickpocketing by the utility only served to call attention to its more ambitious schemes. In the past year, P.N.M. has been engaged in a program of diversification. Recently formed subsidiaries include Meadows Resources, a land development firm. The utility also owns Paragon Resources, which has acquired some of the largest farms and ranches in the state. Paragon Resources is involved in other business activities as well, including construction, helicopter chartering and water-well drilling. Critics charge that P.N.M., through Paragon Resources, sells services to itself at inflated prices.

One of P.N.M.'s newest projects, in partnership with Frontier Fibers Inc., is a proposed \$60 million fiberboard factory in Las Vegas, New Mexico. Few questions have been raised about the venture since it promises to bring jobs to an economically depressed area. P.N.M. also owns Sunbelt Mining, a coal mining company. Sunbelt has aroused the ire of environmentalists by proposing to develop a mine on the edge of the Bisti wilderness. Other P.N.M. projects in the planning stage include a plant that would convert ash to aluminum and a management-training center for business executives.

The Albuquerque Journal has charged editorially that P.N.M. is scouting for investments because its earnings are burning holes in the pockets of managers and stockholders. In early 1982, the company had a treasure chest of \$117 million in retained earnings, amassed in large part through a rate-fixing formula known as cost-of-service indexing. This formula, approved by the Public Service Commission in 1975, permitted P.N.M. to adjust electricity rates so as to maintain a specified rate of return on the value of equity. The utility automatically made annual rate adjustments which were not subject to review by the P.S.C. until three months after they had gone into effect. These adjustments

Jan Knippers Black, author of United States Penetration of Brazil (University of Pennsylvania Press) and other books and articles on foreign affairs and public policy, teaches political science at the University of New Mexico.

were generally based on inflated cost estimates.

The current allowable rate of return is 15.5 percent. P.N.M.'s request to increase that rate to 19.5 percent in 1981 was turned down by the P.S.C. Actually, the company's annual report for 1981 reveals that the average return on common equity was 18.6 percent.

P.N.M. president Jerry Geist, an engineer and businessman, argued that cost-of-service indexing and diversification were necessary to maintain the firm's high bond rating. Wall Street investment firms rank the "regulatory climate" of each state as "very favorable," "favorable" or "unfavorable" according to financial criteria and the level of governmental interference. The financial criteria involve such things as the allocation of costs and benefits to both stockholders and ratepayers. The more stockholders are favored over ratepayers, the more favorable the climate. It is hardly surprising that New Mexico, the only state that permitted cost-of-service indexing, had been ranked "very favorable." P.N.M. contends that that ranking helped it to maintain a high bond rating and to do well in capital markets, advantages that legislative restrictions now threaten.

The effectiveness of New Mexico's regulatory agencies was regarded as a side issue in the utility war of 1982. The Public Service Commission, whose members are appointed by the governor, is charged with day-to-day oversight of gas, water and electric utilities. The State Corporation Commission, whose members are elected by the voters, regulates telephone rates, and the Energy Unit of the attorney general's office intervenes in rate cases. But the combined operating budgets of the three agencies amounts to little more than \$5 million a year, woefully inadequate to pay for lawyers, accountants and expert witnesses, and peanuts compared with the resources of any of the major companies they are supposed to regulate.

The state Constitution says that the Public Service Commission must "balance" the interests of ratepayers, the public and investors. The interests of New Mexico ratepayers and those of P.N.M. stockholders, most of whom live outside the state, are fundamentally antagonistic, of course, but commission members who seek to protect ratepayers are branded by the utility as biased and put on the defensive.

Until recently, utility ratepayers and other consumers were also represented by two nonprofit corporations: Southwest Research and Information Center, funded in part by the Department of Energy, and Energy Consumers of New Mexico, funded by the Community Services Administration. But Southwest Research lost some of its funding because of the Reagan Administration's budget cuts, and Energy Consumers lost most of its funds when the C.S.A. was dismantled. Energy Consumers continues to limp along, supported by small private donations, but executive director Danice Picraux says the organization can no longer afford the legal services that are essential for effective representation of ratepayers.

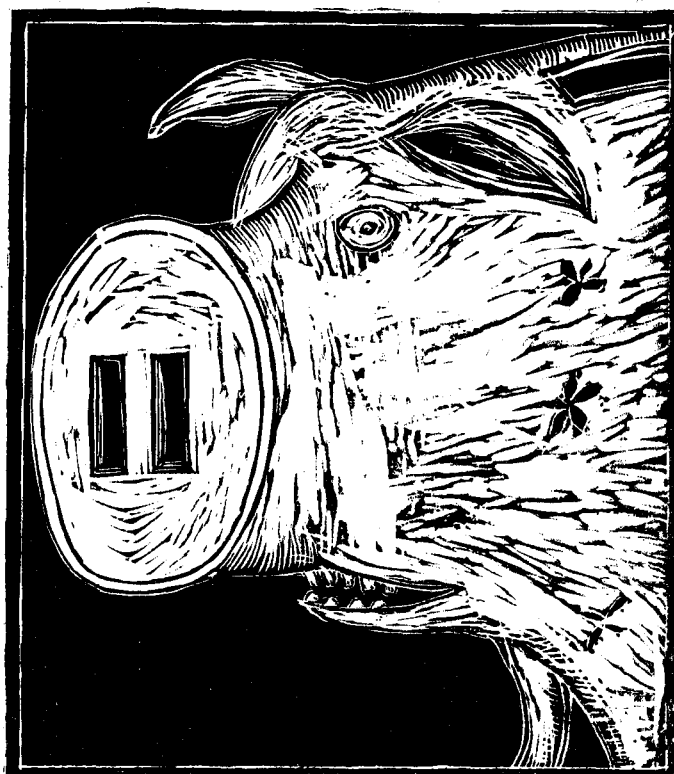
On their own, ratepayers and impoverished consumer organizations would probably have been unable to make the greed of P.N.M. a burning issue in the state legislature, but they were joined by well-heeled organizations of business

executives and ranchers who resented the utility's diversification. It was unfair, they complained, to have to compete with a company that could pass its costs along to captive ratepayers.

Both houses of the state legislature have Democratic majorities, but the lower house is dominated by a conservative coalition of Democrats and Republicans. A number of bills concerning P.N.M. were proposed during the 1982 session, but the bills that were ultimately voted on in the House and the Senate both called for the termination of cost-of-service indexing. The House measure, however, introduced with the blessings of Democratic Governor Bruce King, called only for a thirteen-month moratorium on utility diversification; the Senate bill prohibited further diversification and required divestiture of nonutility ventures by 1987. The Senate bill also provided for greater access by the P.S.C. to utility company financial records.

P.N.M. initially vowed to fight on all fronts. It even launched a media blitz, but that just infuriated the public all the more. The company ended up spending a considerable portion of its air time reassuring viewers that ratepayers would not be charged for the ads. It soon became clear, however, that the fight to keep cost-of-service indexing was not winnable, so P.N.M. concentrated on defending diversification.

When the utility's lobbyists descended on the state legislature, they were not lacking in leverage. The company has a longstanding practice of courting lawmakers and bureaucrats, many of whom have been on its payroll at one time or another. The company has been particularly generous toward the regulators. At a recent regulatory commissioners' convention, for example, P.N.M. hosted a dinner and cruise around San Francisco Bay.



DRAWINGS BY FRANCES JETTER

The company's private planes have also ferried members of the state's Congressional delegation between Albuquerque and Washington, D.C. Republican Senator Pete Domenici, responding to media criticism, said he saw nothing wrong with the arrangement and claimed he planned to reimburse the company. Republican Representative Manuel Lujan has said that traveling on P.N.M.'s planes saves the government money.

Like many other big companies, P.N.M. contributes generously, through political action committees, to the campaigns of both Democrats and Republicans. Some of the state's leading political figures are current or former P.N.M. stockholders or executives. Lujan, ranking member of the House Interior Committee, was until recently a P.N.M. stockholder, which gave rise to charges of a conflict of interest. Faced with a serious challenge in his seventh bid for re-election from Democrat Jan Hartke, Lujan divested himself of his P.N.M. stock a few months ago.

The outcome of the utility war of 1982 has been a draw. Cost-of-service indexing has been prohibited, but only a fifteen-month moratorium has been placed on new diversification activities. The moratorium, according to the new law, will allow time for an investigation by a special legislative committee, but P.N.M.'s critics see it as a cooling-off period for ratepayers. Some legislators have charged that the House bill that was passed, with only minor modifications by the Senate, was cleared by P.N.M. before it was introduced in the House.

Democratic State Senator Manny Aragon of Albuquerque, a co-sponsor of the defeated Senate bill, says the new law does not allow the P.S.C. to inspect the utility's records except in the course of investigating a specific rate case. Thus, the commission cannot monitor P.N.M. closely enough to detect cross-subsidization between the utility and nonutility enterprises. Aragon's greatest fear, however, is that by promising jobs in a job-starved state, P.N.M. will make itself politically invulnerable. Picraux points out, moreover, that the promise of more jobs is illusory, since P.N.M. ventures have driven many smaller, less competitive local companies out of business.

Predominantly Hispanic northern New Mexico, where both incomes and temperatures are lowest, has been the area hardest hit by soaring utility rates. Statewide, some 29,000 households with about 9.5 percent of the state's population receive low-income utility assistance grants. Most of the assistance—about \$9 million last winter—has been provided by the Federal government. In the past two years, the state legislature has appropriated \$1 million each year.

FACT-FINDERS TOUR

A group of *Nation* FACT-FINDERS will visit Europe November 10-21 to explore the disarmament debate with leading representatives of the European peace movement. The package price is \$1,395 and the deadline for reservations is October 20. Contact *The Nation*, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011.

The money from both sources ran out this March, leaving many homes cold and dark. State officials are optimistic that Federal utility assistance will survive the appropriations process for fiscal 1982-83. It is likely that the program will be incorporated into a continuing resolution, in which case New Mexico could be expected to receive the same \$9 million it received last year. If new legislation is necessary, however, utility assistance might be a casualty. Meanwhile, the state legislature ended its 1982 session without renewing its appropriation.

The legislators may believe that they have covered themselves with the law they passed, but the ratepayers seem disinclined to end their fight. Although average kilowatt per-hour usage declined last year, the number of employees on the P.N.M. payroll increased by 15 percent, and the company is asking for a \$38 million rate increase for 1982. Meanwhile, the news, following closely upon the end of the legislative session, that P.N.M. had raised president Geist's pay by some \$67,000, to \$268,562, is not making New Mexicans feel any better about their electricity bills. □

AS TIME GLOATS BY

Fanning the Herpes Scare

AMY WILENTZ

The causes of epidemics are often hotly disputed, but there has been little disagreement about the cause of the recent outbreak of venereal herpes: sexual promiscuity. But I've heard one theory explaining its origins that seems to fit better with the spate of fearful, wild-eyed publicity the disease has been receiving, most notably in the August 2 cover story of *Time* magazine.

The explanation goes as follows: A few years after the war in Vietnam was called off, the disease began rearing its blistered head with more than the usual frequency on the home front. Herpes simplex virus #2, the little devil that causes genital herpes, was rampant in Southeast Asia at the time of the war. Thus, the American troops picked it up during their incursions into Vietnamese culture and brought it back stateside.

This story flows right into *Time*'s article, in which the disease becomes the latest Red scare. Like Communism, herpes is spread through association. Bannering the name of the disease across its front cover in blood-red, horror-movie lettering, the magazine calls the "H" in herpes "Today's Scarlet Letter." *Time* blames the epidemic on the political attitudes and sexual permissiveness of the 1960s. Presumably the magazine would find it fitting that the current epidemic should have originated in the Communist peninsula and attacked the very element in American society that pro-

Amy Wilentz is an assistant editor at Newsday.

tested U.S. intervention in Vietnam and helped bring the boys home.

What's most interesting about *Time's* coverage is its not very subtle subtext of propaganda against the women's movement, particularly against one of the most basic tenets of that movement, namely, that women should have the same sexual freedom as men. For example, in the first paragraph of the story, the Pill is used as a symbol of 1960s laxness—which wouldn't be so bad if it weren't, no doubt for alliteration's sake, lumped together with "Penthouse Pets and porn-movie cassettes." Odd, to link the medical advance that abetted women's sexual freedom with the pornography that makes sexual victims of them.

The article, based for the most part on interviews with herpes victims, group therapists and psychologists, takes a strong and quite fashionable stand for motherhood and against promiscuity. "Few modern ailments," says *Time*, with a note of curmudgeonly triumph, "have altered so much basic behavior so quickly." The story goes on to paraphrase "New York Group Therapist" Dominick Riccio as having said that "herpes has changed the uneasy balance between sex for pleasure and sex for commitment." (It seems *Time* editors see the two as mutually exclusive.) In his own words, Riccio continues: "'People are beginning to realize that romance is what relationships are all about. They're disillusioned with free sex.'" Presumably, they'd rather pay for it.

The assumptions underlying all this seem clear, but if you have the slightest doubt, you have only to check out this paragraph, which comes barreling at you, hammer in hand, one column later:

Wives now give husbands smiling lectures on the ravages of the disease to keep them faithful [and not the other way around]. In a Washington, D.C., bar, a woman recently delivered an impassioned speech to her boyfriend on the many advantages of marrying her, the chief one being that he could escape herpes by dropping out of the bachelor life [and not, again, the other way around]. . . . A West Coast woman finds that having herpes gives her an excuse for avoiding casual sex. . . .

As the editors (or is it the writer, John Leo? It's hard to tell with *Time*) come straight out and say later in the piece: "For many women, the disease exacerbates their doubts about casual sex: they feel they were pushed into it by a permissive culture, then made to pay a heavy price." Message: women never *really* liked sex for sex's sake. Then more: a psychiatrist reports "'intense guilt feelings' among women who get the disease, and hears again and again the feeling that they are unclean, dirty." Disregard the difficulty of hearing a feeling, and think about what that statement means, if it is true. Women still fear that they will be thought of as sluts if they engage in nonmarital sex. And if *Time* is any indicator, their fears are justified.

Over and over, herpes is described as something that makes women feel the way bad, fast or loose women were supposed to feel in those innocent days before the onset of the 1960s immorality. *Time* reports that a doctor in Amityville, New York, says that teen-age girls come into his

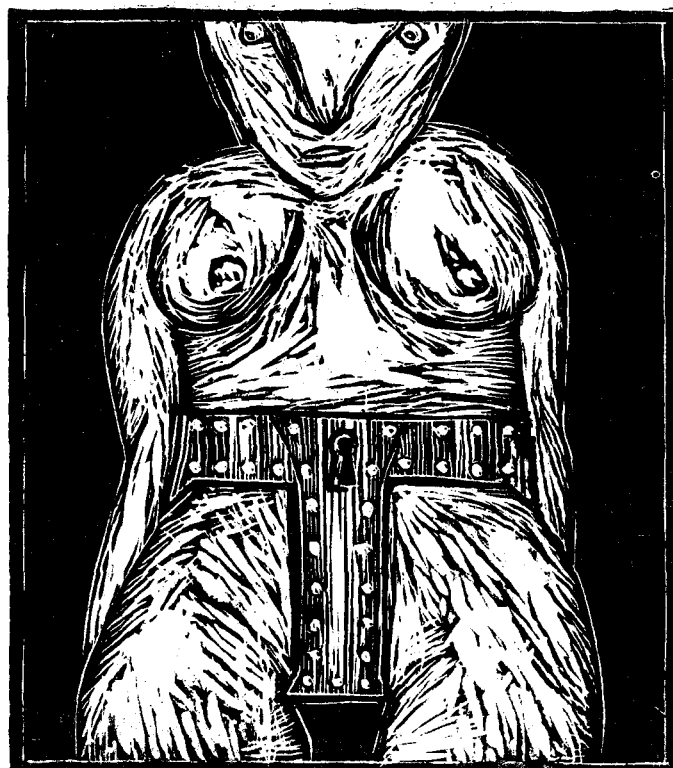
office suffering from herpes and complain, "'No one will ever want to marry me.'" Herpes: the contemporary equivalent of losing your virginity or—even more quaint—getting pregnant. In the old days, women were told not to have sex because they might get pregnant; now they are told not to because they might get herpes.

What can cure the incurable herpes? *Time*, as usual, has the answer: "The virus can be subdued without drugs, by applying the oldest of American remedies." Hmmmm, muses the reader, what could that be? Bombardment? No. Mining? No. "Positive thinking"? Yeah. Supposedly, the less stress you feel about having the disease, the less painful it is (in other words, skip this issue of *Time* if you'd like to avoid a recurrence). So much for all those sufferers—or "herpetics," as *Time* calls them—whose bouts, according to the magazine's account, leave them in pain, depressed and bedridden. Just as the cure for Communism is right thinking, so the cure for herpes is a matter of thought control.

"For now," *Time* concludes, "herpes [like those persistent Russians] cannot be defeated, only cozened into an uneasy, lifelong truce. It is a melancholy fact that it has rekindled old fears." Not so melancholy, however, that the next sentence isn't a bit pleased with the whole setup:

But perhaps not so unhappily, it may be a prime mover in helping to bring to a close an era of mindless promiscuity. The monogamous now have one more reason to remain so. For all the distress it has brought, the troublesome little bug may inadvertently be ushering in a period in which sex is linked more firmly to commitment and trust.

Once *Time* has recognized a higher moral purpose in the "blisters, fevers, and pounding headaches," the herpes virus metamorphoses into a troublesome little bug, kinda



cute, and certainly doing its duty by God and country.

No wonder, then, that in the midst of an epidemic of cancer, *Time* is fanning the fires of fear about something as piddling as herpes. Cancer, some of the causes of which have long been linked to the industrial environment, is a less attractive disease than herpes, with its supposed ties to the 1960s and to what used to be rather fondly thought of as the left. Cancer is a disease that the state can inflict on the citizenry, while herpes seems more a disease of choice, that is, a democratic affliction. But herpes is more fun to talk about: no one dies, there's plenty of sex and, best of all, you can blame the victim. If you can blame anyone for cancer, it's usually the powers that be. And *Time* is one of them. □

■ A NEW 'BUSINESS UNIONISM'

The Dangers of Worker Control

LANCE COMPA

At a time when the trade-union movement is battered by the recession and high unemployment, declining membership, layoffs in heavy industry and militant anti-unionism in business and the Administration, the vogue phrases on the left have become "workplace democracy" and "worker control." These slogans can mean anything from direct employee ownership ("buy-out") of a failing company to increased worker participation in shop-floor-level decisions.

Daniel Zwergling, author of *Workplace Democracy*, has written, "Workplace democracy is no longer merely a rhetorical flourish invoked by radical activists. It has become a practical strategy for survival in the 1980s." Former United Automobile Workers counsel Stephen Schlossberg recently called on union bargainers to make trade-offs of benefits and wages in order to win a larger voice in decisions affecting the jobs of the workers they represent. Such "non-traditional bargaining," Schlossberg said, could transform the ugliness of labor-management confrontation into "the beautiful swan of a cooperative, productive and constructive relationship." Mark Green, head of the Democracy Project, a liberal think tank, places worker control high on the progressive agenda for the years immediately ahead.

There are a number of arguments offered by proponents of workplace democracy. One is the obvious one that it can save jobs, since plant closings and runaway shops are becoming commonplace [see Barry Bluestone and Bennett Harrison, "Plan for People—Not Profits," *The Nation*, September 11]. Greater union control of pension funds offers some protection for workers faced with shutdowns and some assurance that the money will not be invested in

anti-union businesses. Labor-management committees give employees more say in decisions affecting safety, job conditions and the introduction of new technology. The appointment of labor representatives to a company's board of directors can influence long-range policy. Its proponents also say that workplace democracy improves the quality of work life by encouraging employee involvement, reducing alienation and tapping the latent creative potential of non-supervisory personnel.

Advocates of worker buy-outs admit that problems have arisen with this strategy in the past, and they readily point out the obvious pitfalls. For example, there is the danger of "lemon capitalism"—buying an undercapitalized, dying business that would have been better left to go under. Moreover, even if the business is saved, failure to introduce worker control at all levels (rather than just at the supervisory level) has often caused dissension and driven the employee-owners to sell out to private investors. Union control of pension funds creates enormous opportunities for financial chicanery. The practice of appointing union officers to corporate boards of directors has in some instances led to the estrangement of leaders from the rank and file. Worker participation in decisions made at the shop-floor level can be used by management as a ploy for speeding up output, or to prevent a union from organizing a nonunion workplace, or to co-opt an existing union into collaborating with management in order to defuse militancy. It can even be used to erode employee support for their union, which might lead to its decertification.

The experiments in workplace democracy and worker control that have ended badly are easy targets for criticism. But even when looked at in the best possible light, such programs still come up short. Like "full employment," another catch phrase on the left, workplace democracy and worker control are contradictions in terms in a capitalist economic system. Employers will never willingly allow significant invasions of their prerogatives. They will agree to set up company-run worker-participation programs, appoint a union official to the board of directors, allow an occasional buy-out on the periphery of the economy (an old meat-packing plant, say, or a failing auto-parts plant)—but these are essentially token gestures.

From the standpoint of the labor movement, adopting the objective of greater worker control is bad policy because it emphasizes "enterprise consciousness" rather than class consciousness. When workers control a firm, their interests are identical with management's. They no longer struggle for the betterment of workers in general or for the betterment of those in a particular trade or industrial sector; they think in terms of making their own workplace more profitable. In effect, workers become capitalists with capitalists' problems.

As such, they are confronted with a whole new range of decisions—managerial decisions. Should we cut wages so we can buy new machinery? Should we lay off unskilled workers with seniority in favor of highly skilled workers who can do a wide range of jobs, thus increasing efficiency? Should we lay off unskilled workers with the *least* seniority

Lance Compa works for an international union in Washington, D.C.

even though they're likely to be minorities and women? Should we combine job classifications—double up the duties of current employees so we don't have to hire more people and raise costs? Should we lower piecework rates so we'll get more output for the same pay? Should the pension fund lend money at 11 percent to build moderate-income housing when the going mortgage rate is 17 percent? Should we close one of our two plants in response to declining demand or should we mortgage our savings and our homes to invest \$8 million in a modernization program and an advertising campaign to increase our share of the market?

It can be argued that if workers are going to run businesses, they must face up to these questions. But the time, resources and energies of working people are severely limited, and so they have to pick their fights carefully. What are they up against now in their shops and offices and communities? An economy increasingly controlled by monopolistic conglomerates and multinational corporations. An Administration that openly backs business and is trying to reduce social protections, civil rights and civil liberties. Plant closings, runaway shops and union-busting efforts like the open-shop drives of the 1920s.

Enterprise consciousness detaches workers from the larger struggles—the battles to improve their standard of living, to organize the unorganized, to develop new forms of independent political action, to resist the right's legislative agenda, to fight racism and sexism by employers and in their own ranks, to support workers throughout the world who are victimized by U.S. corporations. Worse, it makes it easier for corporate America to achieve its dream of a union-free environment.

The call for workplace democracy and worker control is usually accompanied by criticism, either stated or implied, of "old-fashioned" trade unionism—hard bargaining for economic gains, an aggressive antimanagement stance, contract enforcement through a strong steward system and shop-floor action, reliance on strikes and so on. According to the critics, militant 1930s-style unionism ran out of gas in the 1970s with the entry of a new breed of worker into the work force. These workers are better educated and skeptical of bosses and union officials alike. And they are more concerned with the quality of work life than with traditional union demands for higher wages, more benefits and job security. Union leaders' hoary calls for militancy are falling on deaf ears.

The trouble with this view is that it doesn't square with reality. The labor movement put aggressive unionism on the shelf in the late 1940s when the C.I.O. purged its leftist members. Subsequently, it merged with the more conservative A.F.L., with its "business union" approach. The new breed of worker has rarely been put to the test. When young workers have been challenged, as in tough strikes or nose-to-nose shop-floor battles, they have often displayed leadership abilities they didn't know they had.

Once the unions had destroyed the left in the labor movement, they came to an understanding with management. In exchange for supporting free enterprise at home and the cold war abroad, cooperating with the Central Intelligence

Agency by participating in agency-funded foreign labor "institutes," and supporting huge military budgets and America's imperialist policy in the Third World, the labor movement was accepted as part of the country's power establishment. Labor leaders became labor statesmen. There were still occasional tough strikes and hard bargaining, but the basic system of power relations was not challenged. In the face of labor's compliance, business has reneged on that accord and is out to destroy the labor movement. Disarmed, confused and foundering, many unions now engage in craven concession bargaining and try to pretend that give-backs are "victories" and "breakthroughs." This is the ultimate in business unionism, the logical end to labor's break with its own left wing.

In our corporation-dominated economy, union involvement in experiments with workplace democracy and worker control is of a piece with business unionism. Organized labor no longer advances the interests of working people generally, and individual unions no longer advance the cause of all workers in a specific industrial sector. Rather, each union has become a "company union" which tries to work out the best deal with management (or itself) to keep its firm competitive. Its energies directed toward problems of worker ownership, or pension fund investment, or winning a seat on the board of directors, each union becomes a "transmission belt," to borrow a metaphor often used in socialist countries, for *capitalist* values and norms—investment incentives, cost cutting, capital formation, productivity and so on.

Strong, democratic, combative trade unions, with effective shop steward systems providing protection for workers on the job and independent political auxiliaries for political and community action, can do more to promote *genuine*



workplace democracy and worker control than all the experiments currently under way. Many labor activists are trying to revive this brand of rank-and-file unionism by getting involved in the day-to-day life of the workplace and the community that business unionism ignores.

Rank-and-file unionism addresses precisely those issues that make for a democratic or undemocratic workplace: job assignment and transfer rights, job evaluations and job descriptions, safety and health protections, the introduction of new technology, the pace of work, freedom of speech in the workplace. The common lament of managers whose companies have strong unions is that "the union runs the shop." It's a goal worth aspiring to.

Outside the workplace, important elements of the labor movement are speaking out against nuclear weapons and military spending, against cutbacks in environmental and occupational health programs, against U.S. intervention in the Third World, against Ku Klux Klan violence, against the Reagan budget cuts. And they are speaking out for voting rights, for affirmative action, for civil liberties, for tax reform, for more unemployment benefits, for a higher minimum wage, for food stamps. Many unions are organizing unorganized sectors of their industries, often in traditionally nonunion parts of the country. Distracted by problems of production and competition, would workers in a worker-owned and worker-run enterprise be likely to organize around such issues?

"Rank-and-file unionism" falls as trippingly off the tongue as "workplace democracy" and "worker control." But labor must not get involved in a fight over slogans. It will not advance the cause of workers to scorn "old-fashioned" unionism and call for workplace democracy and worker control to replace it. The job of the labor movement is *still* the old-fashioned one of organizing the unorganized, mobilizing the organized and building for independent action. The best thing the left can do is help tie the drive for workplace democracy and worker control to the movement for a militant, democratic and politically conscious trade unionism. Then the move toward workplace democracy and worker control can be part of a drive for democracy in the whole of society, rather than a last-ditch effort to save the plant or beat the competition. □

Bankers

(Continued From Front Cover)

of Drysdale Government Securities had already left the bank smarting with an after-tax loss of \$117 million. The Penn Square Bank's failure in July also caused some losses, although the final figure is still not known. (Chase had purchased \$212 million in loans extended by the bank before it failed.) In another mishap, involving Lombard-Wall Inc., a New York government-securities dealer, Chase emerged as the firm's second largest creditor, with unsecured loans

totaling as much as \$45 million. Since all these troubles began, the price of Chase stock has fallen 34 percent.

So the Chase management must have been relieved when Marcilla's suit was tossed out of court, for it meant that at least one of the bank's misadventures would not be aired in public. Banks have a strong aversion to this kind of publicity. Confidence is a precious commodity in the banking world, and the allegations about Bandelco in the suit did not reflect well on Chase.

Marcilla had been hired by Chase in April 1974 because of his expertise in electronic data processing. He had distinguished himself while on an assignment in Kuwait, where he salvaged a Chase-affiliated bank's \$2.5 million investment in a computer system that would have been a disaster. Having performed "very effectively," according to Chase's Officer Qualifications Appraisal, Marcilla was assigned in February 1975 to Bandelco, one of Colombia's largest banks, in which Chase owns a 34 percent interest. Chase also has a contract with Bandelco to provide management training and expertise.

Shortly after beginning his two-year assignment in Colombia, Marcilla and his assistant, Ed Hurley, examined loan records and discovered certain irregularities. As Marcilla charged in his lawsuit:

§ Eighty-seven percent of the bank's loans went to members of Bandelco's board of directors or their companies.

§ Many of these loans were unsecured, and as much as \$74 million worth was unrecoverable.

§ Loans were made to James Therrien, the manager of Chase's Colombia operation, his wife and their child at 4 percent interest when the going rate in the country (because of inflation) was between 18 percent and 36 percent.

§ Kickbacks sometimes took place when loans were granted. Marcilla also claimed that Therrien "offered to split 50-50 with me" when confronted with the irregularities.

These charges are serious. Under U.S. banking regulations, such practices are illegal. For example, Regulation O of the Federal Reserve System forbids banks to loan money to their officers in excess of \$60,000 on a mortgage, \$20,000 for education or \$10,000 for any other purpose. These limits were established to insure that bank loans are granted on the basis of sound economic judgments, unclouded by considerations of employee relations. The allocation of 87 percent of a bank's loan portfolio to directors and officers would be considered flatly illegal, not to mention bad banking practice.

In fact, it is just such insider loans that recently helped to get Penn Square in trouble. Bank records indicate that some of its officers had been lent as much as \$200 million, a factor cited in hearings before the House Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs Committee as one of the major factors in Penn Square's demise. According to Marcilla, Bandelco faced similar difficulties during his period there. He cites one time, in August 1976, when the bank was on the verge of bankruptcy, unable even to pay salaries, and he was asked by the senior management committee to list the bank's

Bertha Star is the pseudonym of a New York City-based freelance writer who specializes in financial affairs.

assets that could be sold quickly to raise cash.

On the assumption that he would be doing Chase a service, Marcilla told his superiors in New York of his discoveries. But their reaction was not what he had expected. Therrien, in a counterattack, had already written a number of letters to his New York colleagues stating that Marcilla was mentally unbalanced. He complained that Marcilla had a "strange personality," compounded by a persecution complex, and wrote that he "imagines things that are simply not the case." Therrien recommended "professional help and care."

Therrien's contact in Chase's personnel department at headquarters, Edward Beleck, made several trips to Bogotá to inspect the situation firsthand. In his lawsuit, Marcilla asserted that Beleck became more favorably disposed to Therrien's viewpoint after the latter had plied him with wine, women and expensive gifts. Whatever his reasons, Beleck decided Marcilla's charges were the result of paranoia and filed a report in which he said, "We have a sick man on our hands." When Hurley backed up Marcilla's story and contributed some details of his own, Therrien informed the New York office that Hurley was also acting strangely and "cannot work with people."

In January 1977, Hurley was transferred to Puerto Rico, and Marcilla was transferred out of Colombia and urged to take some vacation time at his home in Albuquerque, New Mexico, while awaiting his next assignment. Although he received a perfunctory promotion in March 1977, he began to hear rumors from friends at Chase that he had been fired. Incredulous, he made several calls to the personnel office and was eventually informed that these rumors were indeed true. Among the reasons cited were "friction" (rather loosely defined) with his fellow employees and "not performing his job in the manner expected or desired by his Chase superiors."

After discussions on an out-of-court settlement broke down, Marcilla brought his \$4 million lawsuit against Chase—charging, among other things, breach of contract, abusive discharge and defamation. After lengthy delays, a grand jury was empaneled to hear the case in New York City in early June. Marcilla's lawyer, F. Roberts Blair, presented the case and Marcilla and Hurley gave testimony outlining their findings in Colombia. Before Chase's lawyers from the prestigious law firm of Milbank, Tweed, Hadley & McCloy had even presented their defense, Federal Judge Thomas P. Griesa dismissed the case. Some observers of the trial later criticized Blair as ill-prepared and ineffective. One juror remarked that the judge "betrayed irritation with Blair's performance and with Marcilla's formal, Spanish-accented style of speech."

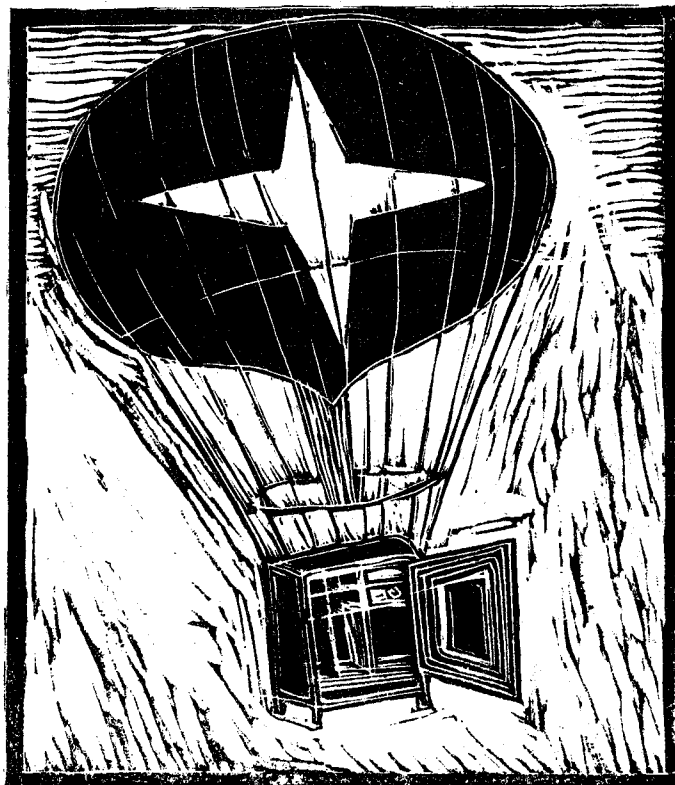
The validity of Marcilla's charges concerning Bandelco's banking practices was never tested in court. A computerized list documenting the loans in question was not even entered as evidence. Judge Griesa dismissed the case on the grounds that Marcilla had no legal basis for his claims. (Other than public employees, workers who are not covered by a personal contract or a collective bargaining agreement have no recourse to being fired.) As the judge summed it up:

Giving the plaintiff [Marcilla] every benefit of the doubt, and without hearing Chase's defense, the best that can be said is that the plaintiff was terminated from Chase because Chase was displeased to have these accusations of irregularities, and for the sake of this motion I have to assume that that is the fact. But Chase can do that. If Chase does not like somebody coming in with accusations of irregularities they can terminate. That is my view of the law.

Many industrialized countries consider Griesa's view of the law outdated, and in some states in this country (such as California) limitations have been placed on an employer's right to fire. Some recent lower court decisions in New York State have begun to move in this direction, but those could still be reversed on appeal.

When strictly interpreted, laws giving an employer an absolute right to fire mean, as Chase's lawyers were only too willing to spell out, "that 'whistle-blowing' on alleged illegal activities does not afford a terminated employee any relief. . . ." Marcilla's case stands as a warning to other would-be tattlers. The bank's motion for dismissal did not deny that loans had been made to insiders: "Marcilla produced records removed from Banco del Comercio which showed only that Therrien, his wife, a company owned by her, and certain other officers and employees of Banco del Comercio had all received loans from Bandelco." But Chase contended that the financial transactions were perfectly proper under Colombian law. Bank representatives in New York also say that dismissal of the case proves that Marcilla's charges were groundless. In other words, banking ethics—and the force of banking laws valid in the United States—don't apply overseas.

Judge Griesa maintained that it is up to the banks to enforce their own ethical codes. As he conjectured, "What one



person might conceive of as being improper may be something which Chase has to live with because of the customs and practices and needs of doing business in a foreign country."

Perhaps the judge is right. Certainly Therrien's position at Bandelco has not been jeopardized by Marcilla's revelations; he is still the bank's key man in Bogotá. Chase may have a policy of deferring to the host country in the matter of banking practices, confining its role to that of providing management expertise. It may also have wanted to avoid offending the Colombian government at all costs. After all, quite a bit of cash is currently being generated by some sectors of that nation's economy. But given the fragile nature of the world banking system, particularly these days, as well as Chase's need to demonstrate the rigorousness of its banking procedures, one might well question the wisdom

of this compliant "when in Rome" approach.

The events of the last few months have illustrated the clear need to do something about the lack of strong banking controls and the inability of regulators to monitor bank activities effectively. But little can be expected from the Securities and Exchange Commission under the present Administration. In the recent case involving evidence of Citibank misconduct, the head of the S.E.C.'s enforcement division, John Fedders, overruled his staff and refused to recommend any action. The S.E.C.'s position, as explained to a *New York Times* reporter, was that since Citibank "had never represented to stockholders or investors that its senior management had 'honesty and integrity,' it had no legal duty to disclose breaches of these basic norms." In this vacuum, the banks are indeed left to enforce their own codes as they see fit. □

EXCHANGE.

(Continued From Front Cover)

executive-sponsored domestic intelligence operations lacked a clear mandate and that Congressional action was required to eliminate the dangerous ambiguities under which such operations had occurred. While ignoring these and similar sources, Francis, in response to a challenge on this issue by a questioner, cited as his authority three court cases, all quite off-course. The first, *Laird v. Tatum*, deals with military surveillance of civilians and was disposed of on a procedural ground; the two others are state cases, *Anderson v. Sills* (New Jersey) and *Handschu v. Special Services Division* (New York), far removed from the issue of executive power to conduct political surveillance operations. Once again ideology has subdued reality.

Francis concluded his Boston performance with a warning that "the real problem is not how to protect the extremists, the terrorists, the violence-prone totalitarians among us from the F.B.I. The real problem is how to protect the lives and freedom of innocent victims from this kind of violence." But his identification of these "violence-prone totalitarians" was quite foggy. He even complained about the F.B.I.'s "rather constricted definition of terrorism." In examining his speech and his reply, one can only conclude that for Francis, terrorists are a "negative reference group" (like "Communists"), a mythologized Menace stripped of political reality, South African style, and used to instill fear and thus to justify indiscriminate targeting. Political terrorism in its modern form does not legitimately lend itself to such a distortion. Its components are (1) politically motivated exemplary violence; (2) indifference to human life; (3) symbolic targets; (4) the creation of overwhelming fear; and (5) in developed terrorist movements, the deliberate instigation of a repressive response ("making the state show its face"). Groups that might have even par-

tially met this description in this country are either defunct or so puny as to be an embarrassment to Francis's argument. When a real terrorist group like the F.A.L.N. is already under surveillance according to the guidelines, he triumphantly notes that members of the group were arrested in Illinois as the result not of F.B.I. investigations but of a private tip. This provides support, don't you see—or do you?—for the argument that since the guidelines went into effect, "counter-terrorist law enforcement" has flagged.

Francis assures us that in order to catch terrorists, targets with "a very serious potential for breeding terrorist groups" must be monitored. And terrorist support groups must also be surveilled since the terrorist outfits themselves are not easily penetrable. These, you understand, are vital preventive measures. It doesn't really matter that the terrorist landscape is now so bleak and barren; you can't be too careful! But I do wish he had dealt with the problem of how to ferret out the sinister support groups of not-yet-arrived terrorists. It must be plain to everyone (but Francis) that the United States does not harbor such ideologically motivated groups as the Baader-Meinhof gang or the Italian Red Brigades. Moreover, here as elsewhere, Francis ignores the cost of his prevention program in terms of a nation's basic security, the freedom of its people.

My contention that violent and nonviolent movements have historically been at ideological odds is well supported by such works on anarchism as James Joll's *The Anarchists*, the compilations of Irving Horowitz (*The Anarchists*) and of Leonard I. Krimerman and Lewis Perry (*Patterns of Anarchy*) and Robert Hunter's Progressive-era classic, *Violence and the Labor Movement*. The case of the breakaway Weathermen does not violate my "continuum" thesis, as Kirkpatrick Sale's book *SDS* clearly demonstrates. The notion that the Weather Underground (long defunct) was an organizational extension of

S.D.S. is simply wrong. Moreover, next to the Black Panthers (to be discussed presently), S.D.S. was probably the most intensively monitored organization in this country, a victim of a wide variety of intelligence capers from wiretaps and dirty tricks to kangaroo grand juries and provocateurs, supervised by a special F.B.I. "New Left desk." Despite this intensive surveillance, the pursuit of the Weather Underground fugitives for at least a decade was largely futile.

The case of Weather Underground member Bernardine Dohrn is instructive. She was a fugitive for eleven years and on the F.B.I.'s most-wanted list for more than four years. The F.B.I. closed its Weather Underground case file not because of the Levi guidelines, which have nothing to do with fugitives, but because, *inter alia*, the extraordinary course of F.B.I. misconduct against alleged support groups freighted the prosecution with an insuperable burden. How can it be said under these circumstances that a violence-prevention rationale justified the massive harassment of S.D.S.?

Francis's response is apparently that investigators must try harder. He chooses to ignore my reference to the admitted failure of the F.B.I. to produce either for the Church Committee or for the G.A.O. evidence that violence has been prevented through the surveillance of nonviolent targets. Moreover, expert though he claims to be, he disregards a 1976 audit of 19,000 open investigative files (covering both straight law enforcement and political surveillance matters), which revealed that violent action of some kind was anticipated by the F.B.I. in only seventeen cases, and that *only six* involved what might with some strain be called political violence. Similarly, a second G.A.O. report, made public in November 1977, confirmed that the Bureau's prevention efforts had yielded "few visible results." Apparently for Francis, nothing succeeds like failure.

Francis's second exhibit in support of his

P.O. Box 1953, Marion, OH 43305

YES!!! Send me 24 issues of *The Nation* for \$12.00, a savings of 60% off the newsstand price and 30% off the regular subscription price. I understand that I may cancel at any time and receive a refund for all unmailed copies.

- ☐ My payment is enclosed — reward me with
FOUR FREE ADDITIONAL ISSUES!
- ☐ Please bill me later.

NAME _____

(PLEASE PRINT)

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

SEND THE NATION TO A FRIEND! (And save \$3.)

Please send 24 issues of *The Nation* to the following people at the special gift rate of just \$12.00 for the first and \$9.00 for each additional gift. And send a card announcing the subscription(s).

GIFT TO _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

GIFT TO _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

- ☐ Enclosed is \$ _____ for _____ subscription(s).
(Extend each subscription FOUR FREE ISSUES.)
- ☐ Bill me later.

Add \$3.50 postage for subscriptions in Canada and Mexico, \$6.50 for other foreign countries. Subscriptions payable in equivalent U.S. funds.

D8235

D8235

justification for preventive surveillance is the Black Panther Party and the emergence of the violence-prone Black Liberation Army. But he omits a number of key facts. In its ruthless pursuit of the Panthers—even Panther lawyers were targeted for surveillance—the Bureau learned of an organizational feud on the East Coast between the “Newton” and “Cleaver” factions. The Bureau’s response was foreshadowed by its program exploiting an earlier West Coast rift between the Panthers and Ron Karenga’s United Slaves (U.S.). In 1968, in accordance with a Washington directive, a West Coast F.B.I. field office exacerbated the Panther-U.S. rivalry, instigating violence between the two groups that resulted in several deaths (I have described and documented this in *The Age of Surveillance*). In an effort reminiscent of the West Coast operation, which was widely praised in Bureau circles despite the deaths, the Chicago field office provoked a series of clashes between the Panthers and a violence-prone street gang, the Blackstone Rangers. The Bureau’s exploitation of the Newton-Cleaver feud on the East Coast followed the same pattern and led to the shooting of a Newton follower and a reprisal killing. All of this made Bureau agents gleeful with self-congratulation. In January 1971, many of the Panthers went underground to avoid confrontation with an opposing faction. Out of this exodus to the underground, unquestionably spurred by the Bureau, the Black Liberation Army was formed. I am at a loss to understand how anyone could find in this scenario a justification for the F.B.I.’s vicious *jihad* against the Black Panthers.

Also included on Francis’s prevention list is the Communist Workers Party. Readers will recall that five C.W.P. members were murdered at a rally in Greensboro, North Carolina, by members of the Ku Klux Klan and the American Nazi Party, who were aided by a Klan police informer formerly employed by the Bureau and by an agent of the Federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms who had infiltrated the Nazi Party. The A.T.F. agent encouraged the Nazis to bring arms to the rally and told them he would make available a safe refuge if it was needed. Does Francis really think surveillance is necessary to protect us from the C.W.P., or perhaps he wants to provide the group with a detail of F.B.I. security guards?

The terrorism-prevention justification has also been raised as a defense in litigation involving the Socialist Workers Party. Between 1943 and 1963, the F.B.I. wiretapped the S.W.P.’s offices and its members without warrant for more than 20,400 days in nine states. Between 1945 and 1966, the Bureau committed 204 warrantless burglaries in which 9,864 documents were removed or photographed. Between 1960 and 1976, more than 400 informers were deployed, and they supplied the F.B.I. with about 12,700 documents. The Bureau also disclosed information about members of the party and its youth branch to thousands of employers and

conducted a coordinated program of disruption. All these activities are the subject of an S.W.P. lawsuit seeking damages, which has lasted almost a decade. One looks in vain through the huge record for convincing evidence of any kind to justify this frightening assault on freedom of association.

Francis’s violence-prevention thesis, if logically applied, would yield interesting consequences. The pro-life (anti-abortion) movement would be infiltrated to track potential fire-bombers, and the Army of God (obvious terrorists by Francis’s standards), whose members recently kidnapped Dr. Hector Zevallos, who ran an abortion clinic, and his wife; the John Birch Society would be justifiably monitored to find out if it is providing recruits for the Secret Army Organization and the Minutemen; the Miami and Union City, New Jersey, Cuban communities would be investigated because there are secret Omega 7 cells operating within them; and police departments in Southern states would be probed because they number Klan members in their ranks.

The tattered vestiges of Francis’s qualifications as an intelligence authority disappear altogether when we examine his continued defense of his six “preventables.” I was particularly struck by his argument in support of his frayed Hanafi case that a target group’s size, its limitation on the number of its members, has no bearing on security precautions. Doesn’t he know that both historically and currently, groups “at risk” have devised small, tightly-knit cell structures as a protection against exposure? Let him, for starters, study the measures taken by Catholics in Elizabethan England to thwart Walsingham’s spies, the history of nineteenth-century radical movements in Europe and the parallel American experience detailed in such works as Wayne Broehl’s *The Molly Maguires* and Robert A. Pinkerton’s article “Detective Surveillance of Anarchists” in the *North American Review*. Francis’s assimilation of the Mafia’s security practices to those of modern political groups at risk is simply ludicrous, as F.B.I. records clearly show. But how can we ask a Ph.D. in history to tarry for the demands of accuracy and scholarship when ideology sounds the trumpet call?

The Maryland Klan, Hanafi and Zebra cases on which Francis’s argument relies need not detain us long. His contention about the Maryland Klan case is based on the notion that the F.B.I. lost contact with the state police informer. That is not true; the reason the Bureau failed to seek a new authorization under the guidelines was simply that there was an informer already in place. Francis’s otherwise baffling citation of this case may be explained by the fact that a Klan bombing target was the house of Representative Parren Mitchell, a circumstance which made reference to the case irresistible. Francis’s persistent reliance on the Hanafi and Zebra cases is somewhat bewil-

dering, since they were both local in character and thus “not directly relevant to the Levi guidelines,” as he finally admits. The groups involved could hardly be called a threat to the national security or potential sources of “ideological violence.” The after-the-fact assertion by local police officers that they could have foiled the taking of hostages by Hanafi Muslims if an informer had not been withdrawn is hardly impressive. What else did Francis expect them to say? What we can say about these three cases is that Francis’s effort to use them as supporting exhibits demonstrates his desperation in making an argument for expanded surveillance authority. (One cannot help wondering whether Francis’s police source told him that political investigations were curbed and files destroyed in 1974 by the District of Columbia Police Department because of the fear that manifold abuses might otherwise be disclosed. Indeed, subsequent litigation revealed such informer high jinks as committing burglaries, smashing office machinery and instigating violence at a peaceful demonstration. Did they discuss the jury verdict in the December 1981 Federal trial that resulted in \$711,397.50 being awarded to seven peace and civil rights activists as well as to the Washington Peace Center for violation of constitutional rights?)

Francis’s insistence that there is “a large degree of probability” that, without the Levi guidelines, John Hinckley would have been apprehended prior to his assassination attempt suggests three scenarios. (1) Hinckley bursts into a Nazi Party meeting in 1978, just before he parted company with the group, and announces, “Guess what, fellas. Two years from now I am going to kill whatever President is in the White House.” A planted informer reports this statement to his control and the Bureau decides to launch an Inspector Javert-style pursuit for an indefinite period of time. (2) Hinckley does not make such an announcement, but an informer, with training in clinical psychology of course, reports to his control that Hinckley is an obviously disturbed character who should be watched. This recommendation is approved by Washington headquarters and Hinckley is trailed by the trained psychologist until he reaches his Washington hotel room and is taken into custody. (3) Hinckley, before leaving for his trip east to visit Jodie Foster, announces to somebody over a tapped telephone, “I’m going to see Jodie Foster. But who knows, I may learn something on my way about the President’s movements that will require me to stop in Washington to do him in.”

Incredible? Absurd? To be sure, but how can an enterprising *Schreck*-peddler be expected to pass up such prime merchandise as an attempt to assassinate a President?

Francis’s use of the Jonestown affair to bolster his case can be dismissed as a crude attempt to exploit the fear generated by these mass killings. But his remarks about this case are riddled with distortions. He does more

than record his scorn for the constitutional concerns that led both the Bureau and local police to exercise restraint. He refers to a February 1978 *Washington Post* story, but ignores the 1977 Justice Department report that followed the preliminary F.B.I. investigation mentioned in my article. In the same way, he chooses to ignore the investigative report of the San Francisco police as well as Jones's prominent civic role. Moreover, he never bothers to show how surveillance measures, which would have to have been taken in this country at least seventeen months before the deaths in Guyana, could have prevented them. (Or perhaps, anticipating the Congressional visit that triggered the holocaust, the F.B.I. should have flown in an informer who would have promptly gained the confidence of Reverend Jones.) Francis's theories about Jonestown epitomize a fallacy that runs through all of his arguments, namely, that effectiveness of surveillance, the authority for it and the propriety of it are all retroactively confirmed by the gravity of the consequences when it has not been used. This polemic strategy in support of indiscriminate spook-mongering has a ready appeal: who would not want to take preventive measures to avert such tragedies as the Jonestown suicides, the Hanafi siege in Washington, the Zebra killings, etc.? But even if there are no problems of jurisdiction and legal authority, the decision to conduct surveillance must always be based on informed foresight, not hindsight. And, as I have shown, past experience amply demonstrates that surveillance rarely prevents political violence. Indeed, the evidence is clear, in case after case, that far from preventing violence, informers deliberately provoke it for cover-protection purposes.

Francis assures us that spying on activities protected by the First Amendment is unobjectionable. Another display of constitutional illiteracy. Why does he suppose the Justice Department, on behalf of the F.B.I., has agreed in court settlements to refrain from surveillance of groups and individuals engaged in conduct protected by the First Amendment, except in a law enforcement context—that is, where there is a reasonable suspicion of criminal conduct? And why have Congress (in the Privacy Act) and urban Red squads (in court settlements) recognized that the surveillance of First Amendment activities is not a legitimate investigative function?

Another fallacy of Francis's argument is his contention that because a group is not monitored, the Bureau lacks the power to do so. This strained reasoning ignores the fact that every investigative agency must choose its targets carefully. Thus, because F.B.I. Director William Webster chose not to use his resources against the May 19 Organization, his statement that the guidelines permitted him to do so must be rejected, according to Francis. Or, because Webster's expertise might lead him to conclude that no threat of violence is presented by a particular

Nazi group, the guidelines are to blame. But why should we not support and credit a stalwart enemy of the Nazis like Francis? Indeed, Francis's use of anti-Nazism as bait to win support for his attack on the guidelines is wholly demagogic and brings to mind Huey Long's observation that if fascism captures power in this country, it will be under the banner of antifascism.

For roughly thirty-five years (1940-1975), the democratic fabric of our common life was severely damaged by a mass of abuses of intelligence authority. Not only the F.B.I. but the C.I.A., the I.R.S., Federal grand juries, Congressional committees, the Army and the White House itself share responsibility for those activities, which violated the protected freedoms and, in many instances, the legal limits of jurisdiction and delegated authority. The F.B.I., of course, has been the chief culprit. During the period in question, the Bureau monitored more than 5 million targets, both individuals (many of them prominent in civic affairs) and organizations, including the N.A.A.C.P. (a twenty-one year operation), the National Council of Churches, the American Friends Service Committee and the American Civil Liberties Union. The surveillance techniques included the use of 37,000 paid informers (from 1966 to 1976, \$2.5 million was paid to informers in the Chicago area alone to spy on 27,900 individuals and organizations); warrantless wiretaps (10,000), burglaries and "surreptitious entries" (7,500); photographs, mail openings and covers, trash covers and a variety of related practices. The fruits of these investigations were stored in 7,500 six-drawer file cabinets housing more than 6 million files and 58 million index cards. But this is only part of the picture: between 1956 and 1970 the F.B.I. implemented 2,340 dirty-tricks operations and countless local harassments ("maverick operations"), including setting fire to cars, pressuring landlords and employers and approving of informers' use of violence and provocation.

In response to the disclosures of such activities, the Levi guidelines were adopted, the Privacy Act was passed and a chastened Bureau, under new leadership, changed its course. Subject to the objections I have already noted, it is fair to say that a serious effort has been made by the Bureau to respect the protected freedoms both in target selection and in operations. But Francis and other hawks are obviously unhappy over this development; for them, the sordid record (fragments of which I have sketched) positively glows with libertarian enlightenment. Indeed, Francis makes the incredible claim that the twenty-odd years spanning the Roosevelt and Johnson Administrations were "perhaps the most liberal stretch of American history and the era in which democracy and civil liberties were most widely extended." A domesticated cold war, the Smith Act and state sedition prosecutions, McCarthyism, loyalty oaths, the

Attorney General's list, McCarran Act proceedings, Federal, state and local surveillance, dirty tricks, Congressional inquisitions and other "intensive domestic security investigations" actually, Francis seems to argue, "accompanied" the expansion of freedom. What's more, some intensive surveillance, he insists, was initiated "by those in government most responsible for that expansion." That is presumably a reference to President Roosevelt's alleged directive of September 1939 (actually a press release) and its progeny, which have been uniformly rejected by scholars in the field as a source of open-ended intelligence authority (see "The Bureau's Spurious Intelligence Authority," Chapter 3 of *The Age of Surveillance*).

Surely no objective student of domestic intelligence can deny that, in order to restore the discredited practices of the past, a right-wing constituency is mounting an assault on the changes made in the investigative field in the past five years. These efforts may not entirely succeed, but such developments as the Felt-Miller pardon and Reagan's December 4, 1981, executive order on domestic surveillance portend dark days ahead. (Wait until Francis's MAR-Sunbelt alliance takes over and Caesarizes the Presidency, then we'll really see some action.) I may be "an aging phony," and I may deserve all the other names Francis calls me—he does have a distinct talent for invective, perhaps a prime asset in his line of work—but I intend to continue to resist, as long as I am able, all efforts to return to the repression, cruelties and follies of the past and the attempts by Francis and the New Right to convert the intelligence arsenal into an instrument for achieving political power.

Some parting notes. Francis states that thirty years ago I was charged with having been a Communist in the 1940s. But he hasn't revealed my most shameful secret. I'm tired of running; I'll tell all: I am flat-footed and overweight, not forty years ago, but right now. Oh, yes, I did make two inaccurate statements in my article: Francis completed his doctorate while working for the Heritage Foundation and not before, and the Heritage Foundation intelligence discussion is a *chapter* in a report, not a report. I think we all should be grateful to Francis for teaching us so much about New Right thoughtways, values and rhetoric and for making such a strong case for the guidelines. Let me show my gratitude with a friendly suggestion to make life easier for Francis: Why not get Senator East to sponsor a move by the Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism to borrow a shipment of surplus terrorists from our NATO allies to tide us over an embarrassing shortage? This should not be too hard for a man like Francis to pull off with his Heritage clout and access to a Senator. Indeed, East has already been persuaded to open up the *Congressional Record* for a 1950s-style "exposé" in the form of Francis's raving reply to my article.

Frank Donner

BOOKS & THE ARTS.

A Stone in the Kidney Politic

MAURICE ISSERMAN

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF JOE MCCARTHY. By Thomas C. Reeves. Stein and Day. 819 pp. \$19.95.

In these distempered times, there is some comfort available in Thomas Reeves's new biography *The Life and Times of Joe McCarthy*. McCarthy built a national reputation and wielded formidable political power on the skill with which he browbeat witnesses appearing before his Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations in the early 1950s. But his victims have had the last word. At the Weavers' reunion concert in Carnegie Hall, held shortly after Ronald Reagan's election, the once-blacklisted folk singer Lee Hays told the audience: "We've been around long enough to tell you, be of good cheer. This too will pass." Pausing a moment for dramatic effect, he added: "I've had kidney stones and I know."

Joe McCarthy was a kidney stone in the American political system, both a product of the system and a danger to it. In the spring of 1954 he dominated the headlines; he could destroy careers on a whim; and the State Department, the Pentagon and even the Republican President of the United States tread cautiously around him to avoid arousing his ire. A year later his power had dissolved, his accusations were relegated to the back pages of newspapers, comedians mimicked his "Point of Order, Mr. Chairman" and he was systematically drinking himself to death. When he died in 1957 many of his former allies, as well as his victims, breathed a sigh of relief.

What accounted for McCarthy's meteoric rise to power and equally precipitous decline? For some historians, the answer has little to do with McCarthy as an individual. McCarthy did not create the national obsession with Communist subversion, they argue. It was Harry Truman who gave

us the Loyalty Review Boards and the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations, establishing guilt by association as sufficient grounds for dismissal from government service. Truman hoped that a little Red scare would cement public opinion behind his cold war foreign policies, discrediting those to his left who thought he had betrayed F.D.R.'s legacy, while appeasing those to his right who believed that Roosevelt had sold out the West at Yalta. But things got out of hand. The Republicans used the Alger Hiss case as evidence that the Democrats were incapable of, and perhaps not even genuinely committed to, ridding the government of subversive influences. Truman's little Red scare became the big Red scare of the McCarthy years, and the Republicans were the ultimate beneficiaries. In these accounts, McCarthy himself recedes in importance. He was a useful tool for the Republicans to use in scourging the Democrats; after serving this purpose, he was discarded.

Thomas Reeves's biography turns the spotlight back on McCarthy as an individual. McCarthy may not have initiated "McCarthyism," but he was hardly a bit player in the drama of the big Red scare. Reeves's McCarthy is more than an ambitious politician, more than a right-wing zealot and more than a tool serving other men's purposes. In *The Life and Times of Joe McCarthy*, the junior Senator from Wisconsin steps forward as an inspired political innovator.

McCarthy took the raw material of Americans' fear and confusion in the late 1940s and used it to create a new political role for himself as a charismatic media demagogue, whose appeal cut across traditional geographic, religious and partisan lines, and who owed no debt (and showed no responsibility) to any institution. McCarthy's national constituency placed its faith in his character, not in the principles or organization that he represented. He was their watchdog, guarding against foreign and domestic dangers. McCarthy infused the single issue he was identified with, the fight against Communism, with his own personality: to his followers, an attack on any aspect of McCarthy's behavior was a blow struck

on behalf of the international Communist conspiracy.

Reeves deplores the consequences of McCarthy's career, but is an unapologetic admirer of McCarthy as a man. Earlier biographers erred, he argues, in portraying McCarthy as a cynic, an anti-Semite, a crook and/or a psychopath. McCarthy "had many personal qualities that biographers and others have chosen to ignore." His life, Reeves concludes, was "profoundly tragic" because he squandered his "native intelligence" and "formidable energy" on an unworthy cause. There are problems with Reeves's "tragic" thesis, as well as with another aspect of the book to which I will return. But I should begin by saying that *The Life and Times of Joe McCarthy* is an impressive work of biography, exhaustively researched, clearly written and often fascinating. Reeves's sympathetic understanding of his subject allows him to convey the sweaty intensity of McCarthy's scramble for power.

McCarthy grew up on a farm in Wisconsin (he just missed being born in a log cabin, as his older brothers and sisters had been, but he did attend a one-room schoolhouse). He apparently overflowed with pluck and grit, the great nineteenth-century virtues: his childhood and early adulthood read like a story co-authored by Parson Weems and Horatio Alger. He established a thriving business as a chicken farmer while still a teen-ager. He dropped out of school after finishing eighth grade, but at the age of 20 returned to high school and raced through four years' worth of academic requirements in nine months. In the midst of the Depression, he worked his way through Marquette University and earned a law degree. Within two years he was a junior partner in a successful law firm, and a few years later, at the age of 30, was elected a circuit judge (the youngest man in Wisconsin history to hold that post). He secured a commission in the Marine Corps after Pearl Harbor and served as an intelligence officer in the South Pacific. Back from the war, he ran unsuccessfully for the Senate in 1944, then won an upset victory in 1946. When he took his seat at the age of 38, he was the youngest member of the Senate. Within four years he would become its best-known one.

People liked McCarthy. Reeves re-

Maurice Isserman teaches history at Smith College. He is the author of *Which Side Were You On? The American Communist Party During the Second World War* (Wesleyan University Press).

counts dozens of anecdotes testifying to McCarthy's personal warmth, his playfulness and his impulsive generosity. McCarthy might have become a Midwestern version of the classic urban Irish pol—shrewd, gregarious, back-slapping, getting on by getting along. But into his narrative of these early years Reeves skillfully weaves evidence of the darker side of McCarthy's character, a premonition of what was to come. McCarthy was a card shark, who loved to cheat at poker to see how far he could go before anyone objected. His playfulness included a taste for sadistic party pranks. He won his first election as circuit judge by inventing and harping on a totally spurious campaign issue (the age of his opponent). While a Marine, he forged a letter from his commanding officer to obtain a citation for a phony combat wound. He cheated on his income taxes, violated campaign laws and engaged in a series of shady business deals.

Once in the Senate, McCarthy searched for the issue that would bring him the greatest political benefit and publicity. He began his crusade against Communists in the government cynically enough. (When asked by a reporter after his 1950 Wheeling speech to produce his alleged list of 205 Communist infiltrators in the State Department, he replied, with disarming candor, "That was just a political speech to a bunch of Republicans. Don't take it seriously.") But when he saw he could get away with his accusations without serious challenge, he plunged ahead. McCarthy was an impulsive man, not given to reflection or careful maneuver. He saw his opportunities, and he took them. Had he retained his initial cynicism, Reeves suggests, McCarthy would have been even more dangerous. But the adulation of his new-found national constituency fed his ego, and attacks by opponents fed his paranoia (Reeves's portrait of McCarthy's happy and self-confident pre-Senate years never quite accounts for the roots of that paranoia). McCarthy's fatal flaw was that he came to believe in the truth of his own accusations. Richard Nixon rose to national power by riding the same issue as McCarthy, but he knew when to slack off and offer the public a "New Nixon." There never could have been a "New McCarthy." With his own party in power, he continued his war on subversion in high places. He overreached himself, and in the Army-

new left review

134

SPECIAL ISSUE

Anthony Barnett

IRON BRITANNIA The Falklands War and the nuclear precipice

forthcoming:

George Black	<i>Revolution in Central America</i>
Michel Aglietta	<i>World Economic Crisis</i>
Michèle Barrett	<i>Apologies for Patriarchy?</i>
& Mary McIntosh	
Mike Davis	<i>US Labor in Retreat</i>
Roy Medvedev	<i>Death of Suslov</i>
Terry Eagleton	<i>Wittgenstein's Friends</i>

single issue \$5/subs \$22 (6 issues)

new left review 7 Carlisle St
London W1V 6NL

"A clear and compelling analysis...

...of the current crisis in South Africa is contained in this important new study, as well as concrete proposals for action based on the nonviolent philosophy and strategies of Chief Albert Luthuli, Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr. I urge everyone who cares about freedom and justice to read this invaluable and practical work."

Coretta Scott King, President, Martin Luther King Jr. Center for Nonviolent Social Change

"This is a concise, thoughtful and useful summary of the South African challenge written for Americans who are sensitive to the call for racial justice abroad..."

Robert C. Good, President, Denison University, former U.S. Ambassador to Zambia



SOUTH AFRICA: CHALLENGE AND HOPE

Published by the American Friends Service Committee in cooperation with the African Studies Program, Indiana University. **Price: \$4.95.**



AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
1501 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, PA. 19102

McCarthy hearings his bluff was finally called.

Two aspects of *The Life and Times of Joe McCarthy* are bothersome. The first concerns a little set-piece that Reeves deploys to establish his own objectivity. Contemporary critics, Reeves argues, were as unfair to McCarthy as McCarthy was to his victims. Owen Lattimore's *Ordeal by Slander* was "as cynical a piece of writing as almost anything published at the time by ultraconservatives." The *New York Post*, another favorite McCarthy target, "did some rather gross smearing of [its] own" in a series of articles critical of McCarthy. The Hennings Report, the product of a Senate investigation into McCarthy's private finances, "contained features . . . often condemned as McCarthyism." Miles McMillin, William Evjue, Drew Pearson, Jack Anderson, I. F. Stone and other anti-McCarthy journalists are all found wanting. Reeves's continual harping on this theme is a little ungracious, considering how much of his book is based on research done by those he criticizes. And equating McCarthy with his critics could be interpreted as a defense of McCarthy's actions: if everybody was out there slinging mud, why should McCarthy be singled out for blame? It should not be forgotten that in the early 1950s it was McCarthy who set the tone of the debate. Thirty years later McCarthy's critics may sound shrill and one-sided, but they never resorted to the gross fabrications that McCarthy employed so casually.

The second aspect of Reeves's account that troubles me is his "tragic" thesis. Where is the tragedy in Joe McCarthy's rise and fall? Reeves has persuaded me that McCarthy, as a young man, had some admirable characteristics. I imagine that much the same thing could be shown to be true for just about any public figure who has ever gained, abused and lost political power. Twenty years from now, will some biographer offer us *The Tragedy of Spiro Agnew*? C. Vann Woodward portrays a genuine tragedy in his biography of an earlier demagogue, the Southern Populist-turned-racist Tom Watson. Until the collapse of the Populist movement in 1896, Watson stood for the interracial solidarity of poor farmers in the South. Embittered by defeat, he lost his bearings and became an advocate of lynch law. Woodward's use of the tragic form works here because Watson at one point

in his life took a courageous stand for a good cause. What cause did Joe McCarthy ever stand for except Joe McCarthy? McCarthy went through no metamorphosis, experienced no apparent internal conflict. At the end, the only regret he had was that he could no longer command front-page attention for his false accusations.

The "tragedy" in *The Life and Times of Joe McCarthy* is a rather forced literary convention which only distracts from the real significance of McCarthy's

career. McCarthy, with brilliant intuition, saw the possibilities of combining personal charisma, command of the media and a single frightening issue into a political power base that owed nothing to traditional parties or constituencies. It is comforting to think that, for all his success in this new role, McCarthy could have fallen from power so quickly. It is not comforting to think that McCarthy's would-be successors in the New Right might learn from his mistakes. □

One in Seven

BRETT HARVEY

RAPE IN MARRIAGE. By Diana E. H. Russell. Macmillan. 412 pp. \$15.95.

MEN ON RAPE. By Timothy Beneke. Beacon Press. 174 pp. \$12.95.

"If you can't rape your wife, who can you rape?" asks a California State Senator. The answer is, you *can* rape your wife in forty-one states in the U.S. In nine of these states, you can rape her even if you're legally separated. In *Rape in Marriage*, the first book to appear on this subject, sociologist Diana Russell presents a grim and profoundly disturbing picture of sexual abuse of wives by their husbands. Russell carried out a scrupulously designed study of a random sample of 930 women in the San Francisco area. The size of her sample and the fact that it was random are crucial, because they enable her to generalize about the larger population. Her study indicates that 14 percent of married women in the United States—one out of seven—have been raped by their husbands.

In most of the United States, as in most countries, rape laws do not pertain to wives; rape is defined as the "forcible penetration of the body of a woman *not the wife of the perpetrator*." (Emphasis added.) The marital rape exemption originated in the seventeenth century with jurist Matthew Hale, who stated: "But the husband cannot be guilty of a rape committed by himself upon his lawful wife, for by their mutual matrimonial consent and contract the wife hath given up herself in this kind unto

her husband which she cannot retract." The Hale dictum, based on the notion that wives are property, informed case law in the United States until the 1970s. In 1977, Oregon became the first state to delete the spousal-immunity clause from its rape statute, and a year later John Rideout became the first man charged with committing marital rape while living with his wife to be criminally prosecuted. The Rideout case, conducted in the glare of intense publicity, revealed a classic pattern of repeated violence on the part of the husband and repeated flight and return on the part of the wife. John Rideout was acquitted and two weeks later the couple reconciled. The media, and hence the public, paid less attention when Greta Rideout divorced her husband three months later and John Rideout was convicted of harassing her after the divorce. Many saw their brief reconciliation as clear confirmation that the state should stay out of the private affairs of married couples. Nevertheless, in recent years several other states have passed legislation against marital rape.

Russell uses the term "wife rape," eschewing such gender-neutral terms as "marital" or "spousal" rape because they imply that wives rape their husbands as frequently as husbands rape their wives, when no such parallel exists. Her definition of rape, which is broader than the legal definition (forced vaginal-penile penetration), includes forced oral and anal sex and forced digital penetration (usually defined by law as sodomy or sexual assault). However, it stops short of such things as "forced fondling of breasts" and "forced kissing," which are included in some recent sociologists' definitions. She is careful to point out that many of the women in her study who described bru-

Brett Harvey is a freelance writer whose work has appeared in *The Village Voice*.

tally enforced sex with their husbands did not use the word "rape" to characterize their experiences. She attributes this to their acceptance of the twin notions that women are raped only by strangers and that men have the "right" to demand sex from their wives.

Russell places wife rape squarely in the context of a patriarchal family structure, in which wives are seen as the property of their husbands, and an inequitable social and economic system that perpetuates husbands' power over their wives. Wife rape and wife beating are simply extreme forms of men's abuse of that power. She further believes that wife rape is "a manifestation of a male sexuality which is often oriented to conquest and domination, and to proving masculinity . . . defined in terms of power, superiority, competitiveness, control, and aggression." In her view, these male tendencies are aggravated "because men have the power, inside and outside the family, to act them out." Russell does not go so far as to suggest, as have some feminists in the anti-pornography camp, that male sexuality is *intrinsically* violent—the "all men are rapists" school of thought. But she does believe that many husbands don't rape their wives because they don't need to: their wives automatically submit to their husbands' wishes, obeying both the written and unwritten laws of marriage. She also cites a recent study in which 35 percent of male college students admitted that they might commit rape if they thought they could get away with it. Given all this, Russell says that instead of asking "Why do men rape their wives?" we should be asking "Why do men *not* rape their wives?"

Russell refers frequently to a "continuum of sexual behavior" with "mutually wanted sex, free of role-playing" at one end and rape at the other, and goes on to suggest that "a considerable amount of marital sex is probably closer to the rape end." In fact, almost three-quarters of the women in her sample claimed *never* to have had unwanted sex with their husbands. Russell, however, finds this figure "extraordinarily low," and she makes a good point—because rape in marriage is still legal in most states, many women may not even ask themselves if they want sex with their husbands or not. Still, one of the things that make this book so difficult to confront is the unavoidable impression it leaves

that *most* wives are martyrs on the altar of unwanted sex and *most* husbands are, at best, sexual bullies. "But wait," one wants to say. "My husband would never force sex on me, and my friends' husbands wouldn't force it on them. And what about all those women who actively *enjoy* sex with their husbands?"

Make no mistake, this is an unbearably painful book to read. The stories these women tell enrage and haunt you. They eloquently refute the idea that being raped by one's husband is less traumatic than being raped by a stranger. The betrayal of trust, combined with the difficulty of leaving the marriage, has a devastating effect on their lives. Perhaps more appalling is the belief, expressed over and over by these women, that their suffering is *inevitable*, that the sexual subjection of wives to husbands is part of some immutable law of nature. As Russell says in her conclusion, the outlawing of rape in marriage would serve not only as a deterrent but as "an important, symbolic endorsement of the principle that all women have the right to decide when, how, and with whom they will relate sexually." *Rape in Marriage* is an important step toward recognizing the tragic consequences of viewing rape *outside* marriage as a serious crime and rape *within* marriage as "acceptable male behavior against which a wife has no recourse."

In *Men on Rape*, Timothy Beneke gives us the male perspective. He interviewed twenty-seven men, only one of whom, however, is a convicted rapist. The others are doctors, lawyers, clerks, police officers and college students, some of whom are husbands, lovers or friends of rape victims. Sadly, there are not too many surprises here. A college freshman says, "There has to be some point in every rape where the woman relaxes and enjoys it . . . and if they're walking around asking for it, in my opinion they deserve it." A psychoanalyst says, "There are some women who do invite rape . . . by placing themselves in vulnerable situations." A cop says, "If he'd been nice to her afterward, she probably wouldn't have reported the rape." A district attorney says, "You're not going to stop rape. Social rapes are always going to happen. I don't care if it's Adam and Eve or Luke Skywalker and Princess Leah, it's always going to happen. That's just human nature." The sole rapist is al-

GUERRILLA STRATEGIES

An Historical Anthology
from the Long March to
Afghanistan

Edited by Gérard Chaliand

A unique anthology of writings on revolutionary warfare and counter-insurgency. Chaliand has had first-hand experience with guerrilla movements throughout the world. He provides a panoramic overview of political and military strategies in revolutionary warfare, noting their strengths, limitations, and pathologies.

University of California Press
Berkeley 94720

\$28.50 at bookstores, or order from:

FREE CATALOGS!

Now you can receive *dozens* of new, colorful, exciting catalogs **absolutely free!** Just check *three* of your most favorite categories in the coupon below and send it to us along with only \$1.00 for processing your order. **You won't be disappointed!** Only the finest of mail order catalogs will be sent to your home. . . . **Act Today!**

YES, I'd like to receive *dozens* of new, colorful, exciting catalogs. I've checked my *three* favorite categories below and enclose \$1.00 for processing. I understand that all catalogs will be sent to me absolutely free and I am under no obligation to purchase anything.

- | | |
|---|---|
| ☐ Cosmetics | ☐ Food Coupons |
| ☐ Jewelry | ☐ Clothing |
| ☐ Gift Ideas | ☐ Home Furnishings |
| ☐ Electronics | ☐ Sewing & Knitting |
| ☐ Toys & Games | ☐ Health Products |
| ☐ Automotive | ☐ Collecting (Coins, stamps, etc.) |
| ☐ Magic & Gags | ☐ Other |
| ☐ Hobbies & Crafts | |

Name _____
(please print)
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Mail to: Nationwide Catalog Network, Inc.
373 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016

most a composite of everyone's image of a sex offender. Abandoned by his mother, beaten by his stepmother, he ran away from home at 13 and embarked on a life of drug addiction and crime. His rapes and attempted rapes were a direct expression of a violent, pathological rage toward women: "I started hating all women. . . . If I hadn't committed rape I'd be in prison for murder right now. . . . I would have killed my stepmother, my mother, and my wife if I'd had the chance."

Beneke himself provides some useful insights. He points out that such commonplace images as a caveman clubbing a cavewoman and dragging her off by the hair constitute "rape signs" in our culture. Rape signs—jokes, images, verbal expressions, songs, etc.—allow us to believe that (1) rape is "natural"; (2) rape isn't really rape; (3) physical strength is a legitimate source of power; (4) women don't really suffer when they're raped; (5) women are attracted by brute strength. He also demonstrates that the way men talk about sex is a kind of "rape language" which reflects and reinforces the notion that sex is the achievement of a valued commodity (women) through battle, hunt or conquest. ("I'd like to *make it* with her"; "Why should a man rape if he can *get it for free*?"; "I'm going to *go out and get me* a piece of ass.") As Beneke says, many of the words we use to describe an attractive woman reveal our belief that her very appearance is a powerful weapon: she's a "knockout," a "bombshell," "stunning," "ravishing" or "strikingly beautiful."

In the presence of this "power," says Beneke, a man often feels like a failure. This point is echoed frequently in the interviews. For example, a young file clerk says, "If I were actually desperate enough to rape somebody, it would be from wanting the person, but it would also be a very spiteful thing, just being able to say 'I have power over you . . .' because really I feel that they have power over *me* just by their presence. Just the fact that they can come up to me and just melt me . . ."

All this is well and good, and I commend Beneke for his attempts to search his and his brothers' souls. But as I read *Men on Rape*, I felt a rising sense of frustration and uneasiness. I'm reading about women as victims again, I thought. There's a pervasive sense in this book that women are fragile flowers and men are brutes who must

curb their base instincts. Beneke's warning that "concepts like sexual *attraction*, which blur the distinction between sexual feeling and sexual action, are potentially dangerous" seems priggish and sanctimonious to me. His focus on *men's* feelings, *men's* consciousness and the fact that rape is *men's* problem sounds suspiciously like the combination of ego and paternalism that has often characterized the "male feminist" movement. In his conclusion, he exhorts men to "create a consciousness that relates to women as people instead of property." While it's hard to quarrel

with this as far as it goes, it has a vague and murky ring. I wish he'd gone further and talked specifically about men's power over women in the real world. Instead of simply chiding men for their "inability to accept women as sexual beings," for example, why doesn't he urge them to support women's struggle for abortion rights, one of the keys to women's sexual autonomy? Men must change the way they think about women, yes, but more than that they must understand that we don't want *just* to be safe; we want to be as free as they are. □

A Startled Miniaturist

SVEN BIRKERTS

SELECTED STORIES. By Robert Walser. Translated by Christopher Middleton and others. Farrar, Straus and Giroux. 196 pp. \$16.50.

The Swiss writer Robert Walser (1878-1956) meets all of our requirements for a ranking as one of literature's darling unfortunates. He was solitary, impoverished, he scribbled in miserable rooms and he spent the last third of his life in an insane asylum. That his quick, febrile prose was admired by Musil, Benjamin and Kafka and at the same time escaped wide notice is an added cachet. But even so, with all his credentials in order, the canonization might not take place. The problem is that Walser's name has somehow become tangled up with Kafka's; his singularity has been obscured because of a few superficial similarities. A careful reading of these *Selected Stories* will testify to the difference between them: Walser's buoyant, sportive, manic voice curls itself like an ivy vine around the somber constructions of K.

Walser is one of the most remarkable and fully realized stylists in modern literature. He has the rarest of gifts, the ability to get spirit onto the page at the flick of a pen. Each story, each sentence is as particular and unique as a fingerprint. "I am a little worn out, raddled, squashed, downtrodden, shot full of holes" begins the sketch titled "Nervous." A simple string of words has the reader tensed for perilous descent. In

Sven Birkerts has essays forthcoming in The Iowa Review.

Walser's hands the language plays and suffers, it vibrates exactly to the rhythms of the psyche: delicacies of frequency are disclosed where we least suspect them. It is here that style fulfills its highest aspiration: it merges with content.

I have been talking abstractly, as if these pieces were without subject, a kind of music. Of course this is not true. In each there is an incident or observation or, more likely, a field of incidents. But these are wholly subordinated to Walser's own reactions and to his constant astonishment at the fact that there is a world and that one is allowed to go about in it.

Take the centerpiece story, "The Walk." It is nothing more—or less—than a fifty-page ramble in the company of Robert Walser. (Walser was, it should be mentioned, one of that select order of writer-walkers that includes Nietzsche, Hamsun, Benjamin and Thoreau, for whom walking was not merely an activity conducive to thought but was a fusion of the physical and mental that made it possible to think with the whole being.) Walser's walk covers a course of several miles and involves a half-dozen encounters, none of them dramatically significant. But what an odyssey! He moves from one thing to the next with antennae bristling. His sensibility dilates from timorousness to brash boldness, zigzags from dispassionate observation to the cry of a soul overwhelmed.

There is no progress in the story except the progress of the walk itself. The encounters are like hallucinations—they are momentarily everything, and then they are left behind and never referred to again. The same is true of

observations. At one moment the walker is in fine fettle, looking forward to lunch with a woman friend, in the next he is outraged by the ostentatious gold lettering on a baker's signboard. In a flash he moves from the particular to the universal:

But loathsome boasting and swaggering began in some corner, in some nook of the world, at some time or other, advanced step by step like a lamentable and disastrous flood, bearing garbage, filth, and foolishness along with them, spreading these throughout the world. . . . To the devil with every miserable desire to seem more than one is.

How different is this tone from that of the little sketch "The Job Application," where Walser exploits the note of obsequiousness to the limit. The speaker is the *commis*, the clerk figure that he uses again and again:

Assuredly there exists in your extensive institution, which I imagine to be overflowing with main and subsidiary functions and offices, work of the kind that one can do as in a dream?—I am, to put it frankly, a Chinese; that is to say, a person who deems everything small and modest to be beautiful and pleasing, and to whom all that is big and exacting is fearsome and horrid.

Walser loved to mimic, to play with voices—as here he throws the quavering syllables of the underling into sudden contact with the imperious syntax of authority. The rhythms alone unmask the relations of power.

Walser wrote prodigiously. The present selection is a sampler of pieces written between 1907 and 1929, the prime years of Walser's literary career. In this interval Walser modified his style several times. Increasing mastery prompted him to greater daring: the associative leaps became more adventurous, the transitions more oblique. Yet even the slightest sketches bear his special impress. We might think of these stories as many fragments of a broken mirror. One holds sky and a moving cloud, another gives us a face or a blooming rose. There is the sense that if we could have all of Walser's writings together—including the many stories that are yet untranslated—it would be possible to fit them edge to jagged edge and see the world as it has never been seen before.

The fractured mirror is a suggestive image. In 1929, when he was 51, Walser committed himself to a sanatorium. The

diagnosis was acute schizophrenia. The qualities that distinguish his prose, the special keenness, the excited fling of his transitions, the sense that the world is being received by a mind miraculously unburdened by categories and concepts, these are in some way inseparable from the pressures of his mental disorder. We cannot say, of course, that the prose was that of a schizophrenic—we do not know the particular history of his illness—nor do we have any way of comparing his writings before and after (as we do with, say, Hölderlin), since he stopped writing in 1933, the year he was forcibly put in an asylum. ("I'm not here to write," he later told a friend, "I'm here to be mad.") Still, a writer does not choose his style: it emerges of its own accord from the complexities of the soul. Thus, it is not insignificant that every adjective descriptive of Walser's work can be prefixed by the modifier *hyper*.

Walser certainly understood his situation—he knew that he was doomed. In "Helbling's Story" he writes: "It is just as if one were not of coarse enough cut for this life." He saw clearly how every quantum of exerted will displaces its equivalent in receptive capacity. He

chose to be without will, to open himself as much as possible to experience. Or maybe he did not choose. As early as 1908, in his novel *Jacob von Gunten*, he had pondered his nature and his fate:

Perhaps I shall never put out twigs and branches. One day some fragrance or other will issue from my nature and my originating. My arms and legs will strangely sag, my mind, pride, and character, everything will crack and fade, and I shall be dead, not really dead, only dead in a certain sort of way, and then I shall vegetate and die for perhaps another sixty years.

Self-prophecy? Walser did break down, and he did live on for another twenty-seven years. But if we heed this part of his self-prophecy, we must at least hear out the other part. A few sentences further on he envisions that condition:

I don't respect my ego at all, I merely see it, and it leaves me cold. Oh, to come in from the cold! How glorious! I shall be able to come into the warmth, over and over again, for nothing personal or selfish will ever stop me from becoming warm and catching fire and taking part.

The Trial of Socrates Revisited

I.F. Stone at the 92nd St. Y

Noted newspaperman, editor and publisher I.F. Stone examines the questions: how could a great democracy condemn a philosopher to death? And why would a legendary journalistic gadfly and political activist devote five years of his retirement to learning Greek and studying classical texts in pursuit of the answer? The implications of these questions merit your attention.

Five Tuesday Evenings at 8:15 p.m.

October 12

THE JOYS AND AGONIES OF GREEK

October 26

THE TRIAL OF SOCRATES: WHAT PLATO HIDES FROM US

November 9

THE TRIAL OF SOCRATES:
HOW SOCRATES COULD HAVE WON ACQUITTAL

November 23

THE TRIAL OF SOCRATES: WAS IT REALLY A SUICIDE?

December 7

THE CASE OF ATHENS VS. PLATO:
DEMOCRACY VS. "ENLIGHTENED" DESPOTISM

Subscriptions: \$30.00 Single Tickets: \$7.00

To order subscriptions or single tickets, visit the box office, 1395 Lexington Avenue, or call **427-4410**

Beneficiary, UJA/Federation Joint Campaign

May it have been so! Some reward was surely owing to this startled miniaturist, this most vulnerable stylist. As for

having his stories between two covers—that is more in the way of a gift to us. □

Lisa & Marcelle & Anne & Chantal

CAROL ASCHER

WHEN THINGS OF THE SPIRIT COME FIRST: Five Early Tales. By Simone de Beauvoir. Pantheon Books. 212 pp. \$13.95.

In 1937, shortly before she turned 30, Simone de Beauvoir began a group of loosely linked short stories set in the restrictive, bourgeois, Catholic, largely female Parisian environment of her childhood and youth. She borrowed her title from Jacques Maritain's metaphysical essays, *Primauté du spirituel* (The ascendancy

Carol Ascher's *Simone de Beauvoir: A Life of Freedom* was published last year by Beacon Press.

of the spirit)—“somewhat ironically,” as she said, since she had come to despise all spirituality for placing a web over reality and crushing life. The collection was not published in France until 1979, under the altered title *Quand prime le spirituel*, and it has taken three years more to cross the Atlantic.

The stories were written while she and Sartre were teaching philosophy in lycées in Paris; and lycée life from the point of view of teacher as well as student is central to these tales. On the other hand, de Beauvoir had already removed herself morally and politically from the world she was describing—which may account for her harshness toward the heroines in some of these stories. Already, while teaching in the

provinces, she and Sartre had been involved in a long and difficult triangle with one of de Beauvoir's students (the basis of *L'invitée*, her first published novel, translated into English as *She Came to Stay*). They had also been pulled into politics by the Spanish Civil War.

The common theme of these five stories, each of which has been given the name of its heroine, is the existentialist tragedy of placing essence before existence—that is, attempting to dispel the ambiguity and freedom of one's life by setting up an Absolute (God) or absolutes (social customs) on which one relies, making “things of the spirit come first.” Some of the stories are roughly structured, while others are told without a complete command of that skill for transforming life and philosophy into art which de Beauvoir would beautifully master in her best fiction, *The Mandarins*. However, all five have an energy and rigor, an honesty of detail and a sense of hitting the bone of a story that are characteristic of de Beauvoir.

In “Chantal,” a provincial school-teacher adorns her mundane life with literary allusions and impresses her adolescent female students with her emancipated views. “‘It's as though we were walking about in a Balzac novel, don't you think?’” she tells a student with whom she is taking a stroll through their little town, and she suggests to the girl that if she transforms an old beggar by the lycée into “‘the incarnation of one of Goya's freaks he no longer seems repulsive but beautiful.’” The narrow caution of Chantal's vision is exposed, however, when her favorite student, whom she has helped to steal time with a boyfriend, becomes pregnant. Will Chantal help the girl procure an abortion? “‘Certainly not,’” says Chantal indignantly. “‘All Monique has to do is to marry as soon as possible; and if her parents have their wits about them the story will never be known.’”

In “Marcelle,” one of the more autobiographical stories in a number of recognizable details, a girl turns from religion to social causes, still holding fast to what de Beauvoir would call the Absolute. “Marguerite” also draws on de Beauvoir's own youth: here a young woman attempts to experience the underworld of bars and prostitutes while holding onto her own bourgeois purity. In “Lisa,” perhaps the most successful story, mysticism mixes with the budding sexuality of a young and vital boarding-school girl. The final scene, in which Lisa masturbates to a mixture of sen-

ONCE, DRIVING WEST OF BILLINGS, MONTANA,

I ran into the afterlife.
No fluffy white clouds. Not even stars. Only sky
dark as the inside of a movie theater
at three in the afternoon and getting bigger all the time,
expanding at terrific speed
over the car which was disappearing,
flattening out empty
as the fields on either side.

It was impossible to think
under that rain louder than engines.
I turned off the radio to listen, let my head
fill up until every bone
was vibrating—sky.

Twice, trees of lightning
broke out of the asphalt. I could smell
the highway burning. Long after, saw blue smoke twirling
behind the eyeballs, lariats
doing fancy rope tricks, jerking silver
dollars out of the air, along with billiard cues, ninepins.

I was starting to feel I could drive forever
when suddenly one of those trees was right in front of me.
Of course, I hit it—
branches shooting stars down the windshield,
poor car shaking like a dazed cow.
I thought this time for sure I was dead
so whatever was on the other side had to be eternity.

Saw sky enormous as nowhere. Kept on driving.

Susan Mitchell

timental and religious images, is dis-comforting even today; it must have been quite shocking forty years ago.

The most intriguingly autobiographical story, though, is "Anne." The dutiful and loving daughter of a large and wealthy family, Anne is being groomed through sanctity and obedience for a proper marriage. Her sophisticated friend—a Chantal again—badgers Anne into following her own instincts and helps draw her to a breakdown and sudden death. Readers of *Memoirs of a Dutiful Daughter*, the first volume of de Beauvoir's autobiography, will immediately think of Zaza, de Beauvoir's childhood friend who died suddenly at the age of 20 after a young man with whom she had fallen in love could not marry her. Zaza had vacillated between obeying her mother's wishes and following her own and de Beauvoir's vision of freedom and happiness. What distinguishes this telling from the version in *Memoirs* is the harsh attitude taken toward Chantal, the de Beauvoir figure, who is presented as self-dramatizing and narcissistic:

Chantal leant toward the fire. A great wave of emotion came over her; after all these weeks of sterile regret she suddenly felt that she had not been cheated at all: her course of action had failed and the future had not meekly obeyed her, but in return she had been given a past . . . from now on her life would always bear the burden of a beautiful and tragic tale. . . . Chantal's head bowed lower. This wonderful burden weighed heavy on her heart: she could not yet foresee all the wealth it would bring her, but already she felt transfigured by its presence.

Those who wish can read de Beauvoir's characteristically unsparing evaluation of these early stories in the second volume of her memoirs, *The Prime of Life*, where she uses such adjectives as "bloodless" and "labored."

Yet the tales are always interesting and, even in their harshness, pleasing. English language readers should be glad to have them translated. They describe a claustrophobic world of repression that is difficult for most liberally raised Americans to comprehend. More than her other fiction, more even than *Memoirs of a Dutiful Daughter*, the stories show the refined brutality of Catholic schoolgirl society. They give a window on the closed universe out of which de Beauvoir thrust herself to live her unconventional and politically committed life. □

The Nation Reprint Mart

LATIN AMERICA: A Political Guide.

An invaluable survey of thirty-three Latin American countries by Penny Lernoux, *The Nation's* award-winning Latin American correspondent.

A LETTER TO AMERICA.

The *Nation* January Inauguration issue was devoted entirely to E.P. Thompson's compelling essay on the clear and present danger of nuclear war.

INTERVENTION.

Under what conditions, if any, is military (or other) intervention ever justified? An entire issue of *The Nation* on the subject of intervention contains the papers presented at a Conference on Intervention, co-sponsored by *The Nation* and the Columbia University School of International Affairs.

EL SALVADOR.

A compilation of *Nation* articles on Central America and El Salvador, including an early debunking of the famed "White Paper" by James Petras.

EMPIRE AS A WAY OF LIFE.

William Appleman Williams' brilliant analysis of America's life, with an empire and the implications of life without one, was the focus of this special issue that was distributed to the delegates at the 1980 Democratic National Convention.

THE SELLING OF JAPAN.

A special issue of *The Nation* that challenges the current adulatory view of Japan Inc. in establishment circles and tells why American working people should not be traded in for the "Japan model."

MYTHS OF THE MIDDLE EAST.

This special issue of *The Nation* is devoted to breaking the logomachy jam in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict by subjecting the emotion-sodden rhetoric that weighs down current thinking to a blast of fresh ideas.

NUCLEAR SAMIZDAT.

What do Russians think about the nuclear arms race? Two prominent Marxist dissidents, historian Roy A. Medvedev and biologist Zhores A. Medvedev, provide the unofficial viewpoint with a clarity rarely found in the American press.

LABOR.

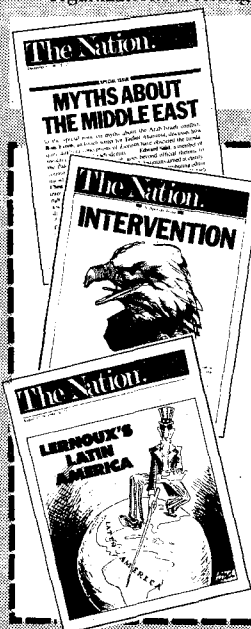
Political economists Thomas Ferguson and Joel Rogers report on recent labor history in this series of four 1979 articles reprinted from their column in *The Nation*, including a trenchant analysis of the defeat of the Labor Law Reform Bill and its impact on labor and material on the Business Roundtable.

DISARMAMENT: Covering the Unthinkable.

In this special issue Richard Pollak takes a critical look at the media coverage of the indisputably most important issue facing mankind. Michael Kazin gives a brief history of the birth of the freeze movement, and David Corn presents a useful directory of organizations working on the disarmament issue.

BACK ISSUES OF THE NATION.

Back issues are \$3.00 each. This includes postage and handling. (There is limited availability on some back issues.)



THE NATION REPRINT MART ORDER FORM

REPRINTS (each title)	Qty.	Name	Total
1 copy — \$3.00			
10 copies — \$8.00			
50 copies — \$30.00			
100 copies — \$50.00			
1,000 copies — \$300.00			
BACK ISSUES \$3.00 each		Date	
		Date	

Total Enclosed _____

SEND TO:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Mail check or money order to The Nation Reprint Mart, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011. Offers expire March 30, 1983.

NR8235

Events.

WRITERS IN CRISIS

Saturday, October 23, 9-5 P.M.

State University of New York, Purchase Campus
Speakers include: Judy Blume, Merle Miller, Norman Rosten, Nora Sayre, Lois Gould, Nancy Milford, Saul Stein, Victor Navasky, Susan Lukas, Alice Lake, Ann McGovern and Emily Hanlon.

Pre-registration, \$10; at door, \$15. For more information contact Peggy Levin, (914) 472-2569. Sponsored by Westchester and Connecticut writers, The American Writers Congress, SUNY at Purchase, The Nation Institute, Croton Review and Westchester Women's News.

THE INDUSTRIAL NORTH:

The Future of Jobs, Productivity and Community
October 21-23, 1982

Center for Community Affairs
Indiana University of Pennsylvania
Indiana, Pennsylvania

Speakers:

Staughton Lynd, author, historian and attorney
Stuart Butler, consultant for the Heritage Foundation
Barry Bluestone, Boston College economics professor
Jack Sheinkman, secretary/treasurer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union
Stuart Hoffman, assistant vice president and senior economist for Pittsburgh National Bank
I.C. Glendenning, executive president of the Federation of Telephone Workers of Pennsylvania
Harley Shaikan, research associate at M.I.T.
Kenneth Cockrel, attorney and former Detroit City Council Member
Allen Kukovich, Pennsylvania State Legislature member

Registration \$30. For more information contact the IUP Center for Community Affairs, 359 Sutton Hall, IUP, Indiana, PA 15705. (412) 357-2443.

Let Nation readers know about your event!

They want to know:
**WHAT'S GOING ON
WHERE and
WHEN**

Events.

I have enclosed _____ camera ready ad
_____ copy to be set
_____ inches per ad
_____ times ad should run
\$ _____ check or money order

Name _____
Organization _____
Address _____
City, State, Zip _____
Phone _____

The Nation is published on Saturdays. It reaches subscribers and newsstands 5 days in advance of Saturday cover date.

We need your ad or copy by Tuesday, 11 days prior to cover date. We will accept phone in copy. Call Virginia Cannon (212) 242-8400.

Rates: \$30 per column inch. **Special offer, limited time only!** 3 ads for the price of 2.

THEATER.

RICHARD GILMAN

Ghosts

When I left the theater after seeing the current production of *Ghosts*, I felt an unhappiness that had two sources. The larger, more generalized one concerned the invariably shoddy way we do Ibsen (as we do Chekhov, Strindberg, Pirandello, et al.) and the implications this has for our sense of the cultural past. The more circumscribed feeling resulted from the casting of Liv Ullmann, a fine actress on the screen and probably in the theater too—that is, in her native language and milieu—but misplaced here, embarrassingly so.

But first a word about the play, which, along with *A Doll House* (not *A Doll's House*—a mistranslation), is undoubtedly the most frequently performed of Ibsen's works. At the time of its writing (1881), he was still struggling to get beyond the procedures of the French *pièce à bien fait*, whose very "well-madeness" resulted in mechanical unfoldings and melodramatic points of crisis. *Ghosts* is therefore somewhat retrograde in its dramaturgy, although not at all in its imaginative and intellectual substance, its central theme being possession by the dead past and the consequent need for radical honesty to get free of it.

Everything that can go wrong with a production of this rich, important play goes wrong here. To begin with, there is no direction—not inadequate or misguided direction but none at all. John Madden, the original director, quit or was fired only a few days before the opening and was replaced by John Neville, who plays Pastor Manders.

Whatever the cause, the result is disastrous. The production has no energy, no rhythm, not a shred of cohesiveness. There are egregious physical blunders: a character remarks on the "bright, beautiful day" while through the windows we see only blackness; Mrs. Alving asks for a lamp to be brought in although the stage is already flooded with glaring light. There seems to have been a breakdown of the most fundamental kind.

Then there's the translation or "adaptation" by Arthur Kopit, who seems to have a deadly hand in a great

many theatrical enterprises these days. There have been at least five major translations into English of *Ghosts* (and all of Ibsen's prose plays), from William Archer's earnest, awkward version in the 1890s to Rolf Fjelde's crisp, accurate rendering of several years ago. Astonishingly enough, Kopit (whom one assumes doesn't read Norwegian) seems to have gone back to Archer or at least to a translation from his period. From "foundling-home" for "orphanage," to "cleave to" one's husband for "stand by" him, his version is absurdly archaic. More than that, it's often foolishly literal, as when Oswald says, "I thought it was the study you were in."

No direction, a stilted translation—even the most gifted performers couldn't be expected to overcome such handicaps. Nobody comes close in this *Ghosts*. Jane Murray's Regina is perfunctory and pallid, lacking all the flouncy petulance and canny vivacity of Ibsen's character. As Oswald, Kevin Spacey exhibits torment, but it seems to stem less from the role than from his discomfort in playing it. And Neville—a journeyman British actor with an Old Vic voice and a matinee idol's profile—does Manders in exactly the wrong way, making him alternately a fool or a monster and thus destroying the credibility of Mrs. Alving's regard for him.

Which brings me to Liv Ullmann. It is difficult to say if she has any understanding of her role—that partly heroic, partly terrified woman working through strata of lies toward a hold on truth. Ullmann's English is so heavily accented, so bound to a Scandinavian singsong rhythm, that her lines offer neither emotion nor thought but merely the process by which they've been learned. Beyond this problem with speech (or maybe because of it), she is physically stiff, graceless, demonstrating no command of the space she's in, appearing instead to take refuge in some of its corners. It made me unhappy to see her name being exploited this way, and I hope she'll forgive me if I say it ought to make her unhappy too. □

When drafting your will, please consider making a bequest to *The Nation*.

For information write or call: Office of the Publisher, *The Nation*, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011 (212) 242-8400

The Nation Mart

MARSHALL ARISMAN POSTER

only \$4.00
(includes postage).

A limited edition poster of Marshall Arisman's graphic reaction to the Reagan administration is the perfect gift for a friend, or for yourself. Arisman's drawing originally appeared on the cover of *The Nation's* January 1981 Inauguration issue, E. P. Thompson's "Letter to America." The poster, measuring 16.5" x 24", is printed on fine coated stock.



SAVE THE NATION

If you find that you have stacks of *The Nation* that you just can't part with, here are two ways to protect your back issues. Choose either an attractive library case or a binder, both in orange, scuff-resistant Kivar and embossed with *The Nation* logo. Each holds six months—safe from dust and wear—at a bargain price.

BINDERS
1 for \$7.50
3 for \$21.75
6 for \$42.00

LIBRARY CASE
1 for \$5.95
3 for \$17.00
6 for \$30.00

THE NATION SINCE 1865

These T-shirts come in black with white lettering front and back. Three sizes, S-M-L, are available.



only \$7.95
(includes postage)

ORDER FORM

Qty.	Item	Total
	Marshall Arisman Poster	
	Binder(s)	
	Library Case(s)	
	T-Shirt(s) ☐ S ☐ M ☐ L	

Total Enclosed _____

SEND TO:

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____

Mail check or money order to The Nation Reprint Mart, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011. Offers expire March 30, 1983.

NM8235

CLASSIFIED.

ASSOCIATIONS

BERTRAND RUSSELL SOCIETY. Information: N, RD1, Box 409, Coopersburg, PA 18036.

BOOKS

MINIATURE BOOKS OF JAPAN. Tatsuo Go, Moritakabatake 621, Toyama City, 931, Japan.

UNSAVED DEAD—Hope for them? FREE 80-page color book, others. Standard (N), Chester Springs, PA 19425.

JERZY KOSINSKI: LITERARY ALARMCLOCK by Dr. Byron L. Sherwin, the first comprehensive study of Kosinski's life and work. \$5.95. Cabala Press, 2421 W. Pratt, Chicago, IL 60645.



LET ME DIE BEFORE I WAKE

By Derek Humphry (author of *Jean's Way*)

This unique guide to self-deliverance for the dying person available to Hemlock members. For details send SASE to

Hemlock: P.O. Box 66218, Los Angeles CA 90066 or phone (213) 391-1871

CREDIT, DIVORCE, PRIVACY PROBLEMS. Our books have the solutions. Send for free catalog. Eden Press, 11623 Slater, Box 8410NG, Fountain Vly, CA 92708.

BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES

INFLATION-FIGHTER! Spare-time programs designed to help you win. Details \$1. J & K Sales, 6805 Fireoak Drive, TN-1, Austin, TX 78759.

BUTTONS/BUMPERSTICKERS

"ONE NUCLEAR BOMB can ruin your whole day." "Arms are for hugging." "The world can no longer afford the rich." Bumperstickers. \$2/any three. \$25/100. Donnelly/Colt, PO Box 271-N, New Vernon, NJ 07976.



KICK THE MISSILE labels (1"x1")
3 pkgs. of 100 ea., \$5 plus 75¢ postage.

KICK THE BOMB HABIT bumper stickers
\$1.50 ea., plus 50¢ postage.
Residents of Wash. state add 6.5% sales tax.
Cause-Way, PO Box 15897, Seattle, WA 98115.

EDUCATION

LATIN & GREEK. College professor offers tutoring to suit individual needs in the New York area. (201) 792-5355.

HOME STUDY COURSE in economics. A 10-lesson study that will throw light on today's baffling problems. Tuition free—small charge for materials. Write: Henry George Institute, 5 East 44 St., New York, NY 10017.

LEARN 10 LANGUAGES a year while striding for exercise. 200 Language Club, PO Box 1727, Beverly Hills, CA 90213.

FOR SALE

SILVER, OLD STERLING FLATWARE patterns. Many in stock. Will search for others. Send "wants" list and SASE to: J. E. Mettler, Box #11077, Govans, Baltimore, MD 21212. Phone: (301) 547-1013.

GAMES & PUZZLES

THE NATION'S BEST CROSSWORD PUZZLES are collected in Frank Lewis' latest book, #4. Send \$3.75 to E. S. Lewis, 62 Fort St., Fairhaven, MA 02719.

GUIDES TO WISDOM

THOUGHT: Miracle Tool for Effective Living. \$2 and SASE. Cuts labor, time and pain. Commonsense Books, 212N North Road, Chelmsford, MA 01824.

PRAYER FOR WISDOM. Stinkers awake thinkers. \$5. GUTS over NUTS, RR1-479, Bluemont, VA 22012.

HEALTH

"**THE ACTIVE STEPS™**" Program for total health and weight loss." A new program anyone can do, that cannot fail. \$4. Wilhelm, PO Box 5239, South San Francisco, CA 94080.

SAVE \$2,000! Prevent periodontal disease and bleeding gums with effective treatment using household items developed at the Natl. Inst. of Health. Send \$3. Planter Assoc., PO Box 671, Westmont, IL 60559.

DON'T DIE of cancer. Get the latest information on a new, painless, cheap treatment. The B.M.A. took 287 years to state quinine cured malaria. Bond Engineering Research, PO Box 370, Tweed Heads, NSW, 2485, Australia.

SELF-HEALING: helping yourself and helping your physician help you. For descriptive literature, send a self-addressed stamped envelope to: F. Levy, 105N Stacia Street, Los Gatos, CA 95030.

INSURANCE

DONALD SHAFFER ASSOCIATES, INC.

ALL FORMS OF INSURANCE

Specialists in Pension & Employee Benefit Planning
11 GRACE AVENUE, Great Neck, N.Y. 11021
212-895-7005, 516-466-4642

INVENTIONS

IDEAS, INVENTIONS WANTED for presentation to industry. 1-800-528-6050, Arizona, 1-800-352-0458, x831.

LITERARY SERVICES

FICTION CONSULTANT. 2227 20 St. N.W., 402 Washington, DC 20009.

CLASSIFIED.

LITERARY SERVICES

AUTHORS WANTED BY NEW YORK PUBLISHER

Leading subsidy book publisher seeks manuscripts of all types: fiction, non-fiction, poetry, scholarly and juvenile works, etc. New authors welcomed. Send for free, illustrated 40-page brochure N. Vantage Press, 516 W. 34 St., New York, N.Y. 10001

AUTHORS—Advertise your manuscript's availability to 2,000 publishers/agents in "Writer's Showcase." Details—\$1. Literary Service Bureau, PO Box 5391, Washington, DC 20912. (202) 723-1715.

MERCHANDISE

VACUUM CLEANERS: "Discount Prices" "New" Rainbow \$349.95, Kirby, Filter Queen, Compact, Details: ABC Vacuum Warehouse, 7021 Burnet-N, Austin, TX 78757.

CELTIC FOLK HARPS—Legendary sound, master quality. Caswell Harps, 14690 Carrier, Guerneville, CA 95446.

MOVIE STAR PHOTOS by the millions. For illustrated brochure send \$1 to: Movie Star News, Dept. N, PO Box 191, New York, NY 10276.

TRS-80 Computers and Radio Shack products at 15% discount. Charles Blackwell, Radio Shack dealer, 30 N. Congress, York, SC 29745. (803) 684-9980.

SABLE/CHINCHILLA stole! 92" x 14". Value \$6,500. Worn 5 times. \$2,500. Mink Bedspread—60" x 80". Value \$5,000. Like new! \$2,000. (516) 379-6421.

MISCELLANEOUS

DISARM YOURSELF. Stamped envelope to New Party, 8319 Fulham Court, Richmond, VA 23227.

ACCURATE TAROT reading, send \$10 and 3 questions along with stamped self-addressed envelope to PO Box 1107, Richmond, CA 94802.

MISCELLANEOUS

CULTURGRAMS: 4-page cultural summaries on over 70 cultures. For complimentary Culturgram and publications list, write BYU/CIAS, PO Box 61-G FOB, Provo, UT 84602 or call (801) 378-6528.

COMEDY WRITER. Established, successful, but hates to work alone. Seeks collaborator. Production of plays, satire, etc. (212) 941-8812.

ARTISTS/all fields: Grants/aid information. Private \$ sources. Send SASE for brochure: WIAL, Box 9005N, Washington, DC 20003.

FAMOUS LAST LETTERS

BY

Joan of Arc, Henry IV, Marie Antoinette, Napoleon and more; one single set of actual letters, reproduced by the Paris Museum in 1935, available for sale. Nation Box 213.

OF INTEREST TO ALL

BIBLE TRUTHS. God's plan for man. Free literature. Space 9, 205 South 2nd Street, El Cajon, CA 92021.

PERSONALS

UNATTACHED? Meet aware, literate singles—like YOU! Very low fee. Call DATELINE—free: 800-451-3245.

BLACK MALE seeks correspondence with someone who could look beyond the stereotype things that are attributed to those in prison. William Dickson, PO Box 45699-165-952, Lucasville, OH 46599-0001.

SINGLE BOOKLOVERS gets cultured single, widowed or divorced persons acquainted. Established 1970. Nationwide. Write: Box AE, Swarthmore, PA 19081. Or call (215) 566-2132.

WE'VE FOUND A BETTER WAY! Attractive, prof. NYU women are having a wonderful time inviting dynamic, prof. single men (36-50) to congenial get-togethers. Write Nation Box 14.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT: Bookkeeping, office management, newsletter production. Writing and editing necessary. Criminal justice background preferred. \$12,000 plus. Resume and cover letter to: Unitarian Universalist Service Committee National Moratorium on Prison Construction, 324 C Street SE, Washington, DC 20003 by 10/7/82. UUSC is an affirmative action employer.

CIRCULATION ASSISTANT AT THE NATION. Detail-oriented person needed to deal with customer service problems and correspondence; fulfillment of book, reprint, back issue and newsstand orders; maintenance of some circulation-related records. Experience helpful. Send cover letter and resume to: Circulation Department, The Nation, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

PUBLICATIONS

TECHNOCRACY—TECHNOLOGICAL SOCIAL DESIGN available for one dollar from Technocracy Inc., Continental Headquarters, Savannah, OH 44874.

READ THE GUARDIAN, America's #1 independent Marxist newsweekly. National, international coverage. Write for FREE introductory 4-week subscription. Guardian, Dept. NA, 33 W. 17th St., New York, NY 10011.

COLLEGE STUDENTS! Improve your grades. Term paper catalog: 306 pgs., 10,278 topics. Rush \$1. Research, 11322 Idaho Ave. #206NT, Los Angeles, 90025. (213) 477-8226. Custom research also available.

"136 + BIBLICAL CONTRADICTIONS". \$3. Crusade Publications, Dept. U. Box 200, Redmond, WA 98052.

WORLD PRESS WATCH, weekly review of world news. \$5 per 4 issues, \$15 per 13 issues, \$55 per year. Walter Brooks, PO Box 3025, Palm Beach, FL 33480.

NUKEWATCH MONTHLY newsletter. Keep up with latest nuclear developments: missile deployment, breeder reactor implementation, protest movements, anti-sub technology, etc. One year subscription \$10. Nukewatch, 38 Slocum Place, Brooklyn, NY 11218.

QUERIES

AUTHOR'S QUERY

For a compendium of erroneous, untrue and just plain stupid statements by experts, we would appreciate hearing of any sources, anecdotes, documents, etc about inept authorities in any field, in any age. Write Nation Box 80.

REAL ESTATE

BEAUTIFUL HAWAII—Vacation apartments. Free brochure: Paradise, 50 S. Beretania, C207, Honolulu, HI 96813. (808) 538-7145. Toll Free U.S. to HI (800) 367-5205.

RECIPES

FAMOUS CINCINNATI chili recipe plus 4 authentic Greek dishes. Send \$3 to: Kenco, PO Box 24, Xenia, OH 45385

For the convenience of those who wish to place a classified notice in *THE NATION*:

RATES: \$.75 per word, 15 word minimum; telephone and POB numbers count as two words, abbreviations and zip codes as one. Copy deadline 17 days prior to week of publication. Payment must accompany order.

Take advantage of our special offer: place an order for two insertions of your ad, and we will print a third insertion free!

TO: THE NATION
Classified Department
72 Fifth Avenue, N.Y. N.Y. 10011

Enclosed is my check for \$ _____ for my advertisement to run _____ weeks

Advertiser _____

Address _____ City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Copy: _____

Payment in U.S. currency

RECIPES

VEGETARIAN COOKERY. Enjoy delectable, healthy, meatless recipes. Creative originals, nostalgic favorites, cooking tips, \$3.50. Recipes, PO Box 131A, Arcata, CA 95521.

RELIGION

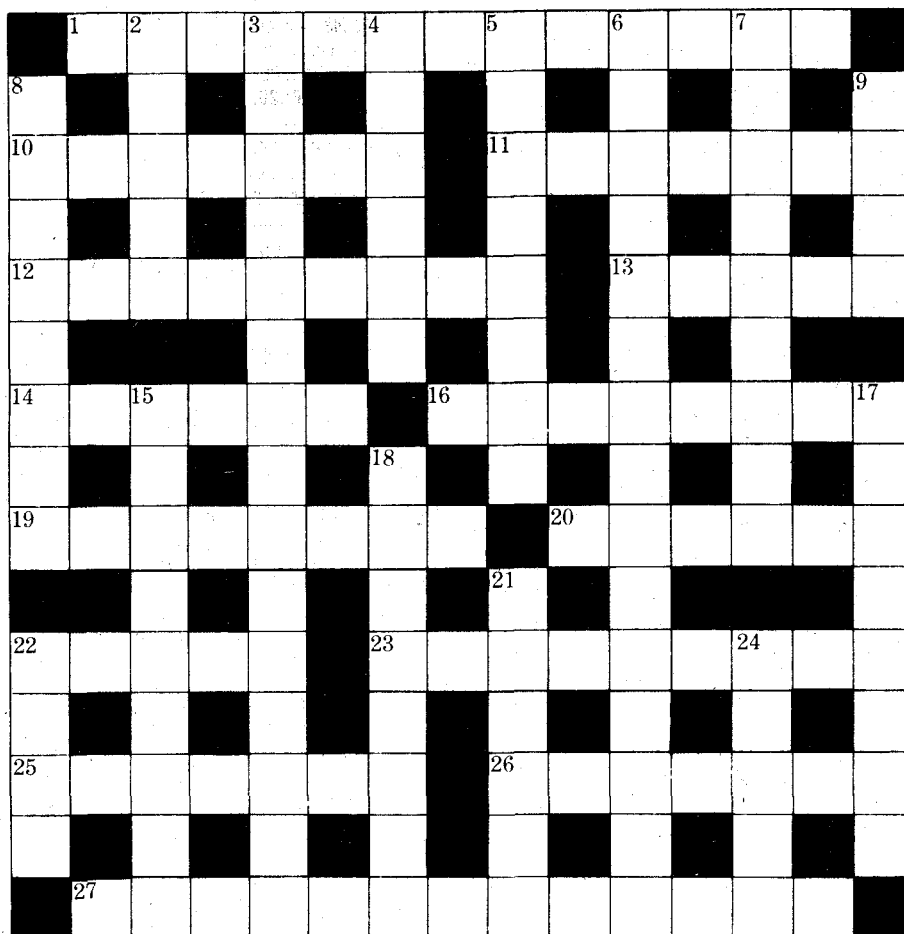
JESUS FICTIONAL! POSITIVE PROOF Flavius Josephus created Jesus, authored Gospels. Scholarly booklet: \$3.00—Vector, PO Box 6215-A, Bellevue, WA 98007.

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1930

S	O	J	O	U	R	N	S		S	C	O	T	C	H
A	E	N	O	L	O	H	I							
I	D	L	E	S		M	E	A	S	U	R	I	N	G
L	L	L	I		D	N	N	H						
E	L	Y	S	I	A	N		I	N	S	P	E	C	T
D	R	N	E	E	E	E	I							
	B	O	G	G	L	E		S	A	L	L	I	E	D
A	L													
D	A	L	L	I	E	S		I	D	E	A	L	S	
O		M	U	N	X	T	R							
P	O	S	T	M	A	N		T	A	C	T	I	L	E
T	I	E	L	E	U	M	V							
I	N	D	E	N	T	I	N	G		S	L	I	D	E
U	L	S	T	E	E	N	A							
N	E	E	D	E	D		P	R	O	D	I	G	A	L

Crossword Puzzle No. 1931

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 Hornblower? (The young especially have been told about him.) (6,3,4)
- 10 Hornblower? (Nelson, too.) (7)
- 11 In accordance with standards here in old Rome, found in the late sort. (7)
- 12 The sort of death some looked forward to as a living place? (9)
- 13 Had possession, and admitted such. (5)
- 14 Man's ingratitude so described? (6)
- 16 Would Charlie B.'s dog be found doing such? (8)
- 19 With the derivation "twisted out," does it imply the arm was the twistee? (8)
- 20 Would one have minded having done so? (6)
- 22 One might associate him with a dandy version of Yankee Doodle! (5)
- 23 It might be mined from a claim the hard way. (9)
- 25 Certainly not lady pilots, but threatens to be so. (7)
- 26 Dog, pure and not-so-pure, still put into some category. (7)
- 27 In battle gear, or 9 in a manner perhaps 5? (7,2,4)

- 4 A runaway pair should be hitched soon after if they so behaved. (6)
- 5 Equivalent to medium, if you asked for rare. (8)
- 6 How the pirate's booty or the jewels might be taken, alternatively. (2,4,2,2,5)
- 7 In a manner that's preternaturally good—with only bottles available? (9)
- 8 Representative here, perhaps. (Bill is often mentioned as being before it.) (3,5)
- 9 Iron this for the Monitor, perhaps. (4)
- 15 Chief cook, or one very much higher up in the old British Army. (9)
- 17 The purposes of the dieties might be gratefully accepted by mortals. (8)
- 18 The plea of one with bad vision comes at a moment of reflection. (3,2,3)
- 21 What a smoker might want to get down. (6)
- 22 Separate intent, if one does it? Certain too-trendy behavior is said to be so. (4)
- 24 Drive that suggests one of mischief to the Spanish. (5)

PUZZLED?

No more cross words; write for a free copy of Frank W. Lewis's "ground rules" c/o *The Nation*. Learn why "little skipper" is a "truant."

MOVING?

ATTACH
MAILING
LABEL
HERE

Don't miss a single
issue of **THE NATION**.

New address:

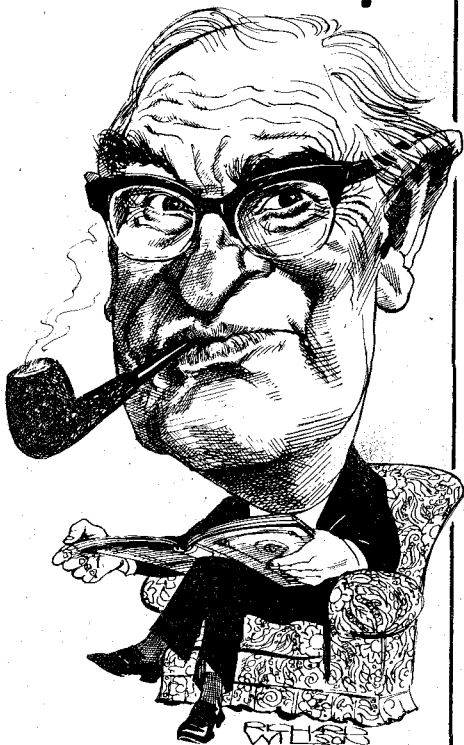
Name _____
Street _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____

Please allow 6-8 weeks
for processing.

Mail to: **THE NATION**
P.O. Box 1953
Marion, Ohio 43305



V. S. PRITCHETT Speaking for The Folio Society



Recently Sir Victor Pritchett was asked to write an appreciation of the current Folio list. Here is an extract from his review.

The sharp decline in so much of our present printing and our binding seems to me one more sign of the decline in the honour in which a literary culture was once held. It is because The Folio Society restores this honour to literature and its authors that I am more than eager to speak for them.

When I think of getting a new copy of a book that has been pinched from my shelves – Lermontov's *A Hero of Our Time* or Helen Waddell's *The Wandering Scholars* for example – I know where to look for a distinctive edition worthy of the author and of my trade. My stolen Lermontov, that marvellous Russian short story, *A Hero of Our Time*, seminal to the Russian and indeed European short story – was schoolbookish. In Folio it is elegant but not arty: like all Folio's editions it is intelligently introduced and in this case lithographs by Dodie Masterman evoke the romantic Byronic tale. The Folio volumes have revived and reconsidered the Victorian art of illustration.



The Sun King
& his Loves
by Lucy Norton
Normally \$16.75
—FREE to
members!

Your passport to an unforgettable age

The coupon below will bring you a copy of the elegant Presentation Volume for Folio members: *The Sun King and his Loves*, together with the full 32-page Folio Prospectus for 1983.

If you pick as few as four books from the 120 beautifully made (and modestly priced) titles described, and send us your order, *The Sun King and his Loves* remains yours absolutely free.

Specially commissioned by the Society from Lucy Norton (translator of the Saint-Simon Memoirs), this glittering portrait illuminates what Voltaire called 'an unforgettable age' . . . through the character of Louis XIV of France, the absolute monarch whose relentless pursuit of glory bequeathed to his heirs Versailles – the grandest palace in Europe – and the seeds of the bloodiest revolution in history.

BEAUTIFUL BOOKS FROM THE FOLIO SOCIETY

The Folio Society is a unique international society of book lovers. Based in London, England, it sells its books

to every country in the world. And sends them free of all shipping charges!

Folio Books are based on ideals of quality, not quantity. They are individually designed, strikingly illustrated, carefully produced: set, mainly, in hot metal, printed on special makings of paper, and properly bound in the traditional way.

The Folio choices give you a wide selection (over 120) of books of permanent, not passing interest. Major and minor classics from literature and history: the well loved and the half forgotten. Books worth reading and re-reading. Editions that often go up in value as the years go by.

Folio methods mean you choose. You order four books only once a year in advance from over 120 listed in the fully descriptive 32-page prospectus. No monthly cycle of publicity to respond to: and so no parcels you didn't mean to order.

Find out more . . . To try this small and beautiful system, simply mail us the coupon below. It commits you to nothing more than sight of our full list, plus *The Sun King and his Loves*, which is yours to keep if you decide to join.

Folio Books Ltd, c/o Expeditors of the Printed Word Ltd, 527 Madison Avenue (Suite 1217), New York, NY 10022.

(Please print all information below.)

Q 044

To: The Membership Secretary. I am interested in joining The Folio Society, and would like to see your Presentation Volume of *The Sun King & his Loves* by Lucy Norton, together with the 1983 Prospectus. I will send my order for a minimum of four books promptly, thus taking up membership on the terms described, or else send back the Presentation Volume. As a member, I understand I can return any book if not satisfied.

Mr _____
Mrs _____
Miss _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____

Signed _____

ETSU LIBRARY